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THE
PLAYS AND POEMS
OF
WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,
WITH THE
CORRECTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
VARIOUS COMMENTATORS:
COMPREHENDING
A Life of the Poet,
AND
AN ENLARGED HISTORY OF THE STAGE,
BY
THE LATE EDMOND MALONE.
WITH A NEW GLÖSSARIAL INDEX.

ΤΗΣ ἡΓΓΕΛΕΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΤΣ ΗΝ, ΤΟΝ ΚΑΛΑΜΟΝ
ΑΠΟΒΡΕΧΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΝΟΤΗΝ. *Vct. Auct. apud Suidam.*

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TEMPEST.

KING JOHN.

ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TEMPEST.



TEMPEST.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE *Tempest* and *The Midsummer-Night's Dream* are the noblest efforts of that sublime and amazing imagination peculiar to Shakspeare, which soars above the bounds of nature, without forsaking sense ; or, more properly, carries nature along with him beyond her established limits. Fletcher seems particularly to have admired these two plays, and hath wrote two in imitation of them, *The Sea Voyage* and *The Faithful Shepherdess*. But when he presumes to break a lance with Shakspeare, and write in emulation of him, as he does in *The False One*, which is the rival of *Antony and Cleopatra*, he is not so successful. After him, Sir John Suckling and Milton caught the brightest fire of their imagination from these two plays ; which shines fantastically indeed in *The Goblins*, but much more nobly and serenely in *The Mask at Ludlow Castle*. WARBURTON.

No one has hitherto been lucky enough to discover the romance on which Shakspeare may be supposed to have founded this play, the beauties of which could not secure it from the criticism of Ben Jonson, whose malignity appears to have been more than equal to his wit. In the introduction to *Bartholomew Fair*, he says : " If there be never a *servant monster* in the fair, who can help it, he says, nor a nest of *antiques*? He is loth to make nature afraid in his plays, like those that beget *Tales, Tempests*, and such like drolleries." STEEVENS.

I was informed by the late Mr. Collins of Chichester, that Shakspeare's *Tempest*, for which no origin is yet assigned, was formed on a romance called *Aurelio and Isabella*, printed in Italian, Spanish, French, and English, in 1588. But though this information has not proved true on examination, an useful conclusion may be drawn from it, that Shakspeare's story is somewhere to be found in an Italian novel, at least that the story preceded Shakspeare. Mr. Collins had searched this subject with no less fidelity than judgement and industry ; but his memory failing in his last calamitous indisposition, he probably gave me the name of one novel for another. I remember he added a circumstance, which may lead to a discovery,—that the principal character of the romance, answering to Shakspeare's *Prospero*, was a chemical necromancer, who had bound a spirit like *Ariel* to obey his call, and perform his services. It was a common pretence of dealers in the occult sciences to have a demon at command. At least *Aurelio*, or *Orelia*, was probably one of the names of this romance, the production and multiplicity of gold being the grand object of alchemy. Taken at large, the magical

part of the *Tempest* is founded on that sort of philosophy which was practised by John Dee and his associates, and has been called the Rosicrucian. The name Ariel came from the Talmudistick mysteries with which the learned Jews had infected this science.

T. WARTON.

Mr. Theobald tells us that *The Tempest* must have been written after 1609, because the Bermuda Islands, which are mentioned in it, were unknown to the English until that year; but this is a mistake. He might have seen in Hackluyt, 1600, folio, a description of Bermuda, by Henry May, who was shipwrecked there in 1593.

It was however one of our author's last works. In 1598, he played a part in the original *Every Man in his Humour*. Two of the characters are *Prospero* and *Stephano*. Here Ben Jonson taught him the pronunciation of the latter word, which is always *right* in *The Tempest* :

"Is not this *Stephāno* my drunken butler?"

And always *wrong* in his earlier play, *The Merchant of Venice*, which had been on the stage at least two or three years before its publication in 1600 :

"My friend *Stephāno*, signify, I pray you," &c.

—So little did Mr. Capell know of his author, when he idly supposed his *school literature* might perhaps have been lost by the *dissipation of youth*, or the *busy scene* of publick life! FARMER.

This play must have been written before 1614, when Jonson sneers at it in his *Bartholomew Fair*. In the latter plays of Shakspeare, he has less of pun and quibble than in his early ones. In *The Merchant of Venice*, he expressly declares against them. This perhaps might be one criterion to discover the dates of his plays. BLACKSTONE.

See Mr. Malone's Attempt to ascertain the Order of Shakspeare's Plays, and a Note on "*The cloud-capp'd towers*," &c. Act IV. STEEVENS.

A hope has long been entertained, that at some time or other the romance or tale might be found, that furnished Shakspeare with the materials on which he formed this beautiful comedy. But after having ascertained the precise fact that unquestionably gave rise to it, and after the perusal of some rare and curious pieces of his age, of which a more particular account will presently be given, I am firmly persuaded that no such tale or romance will ever be found, or indeed ever existed.

In constructing many other plays, our poet frequently formed his drama on some story that he met with, either adopting it as he found it, or making some alterations; and in both cases, generally adding some new and original characters of his own invention. Such we know was the process in the formation of *Twelfth-Night*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*, and some others. But here, as we have already

seen, the title and part of the story were suggested to him by the tremendous tempest, which, in July, 1609, dispersed the fleet carrying supplies from England to the infant colony in Virginia, and wrecked the vessel in which Sir George Somers and the other principal commanders had sailed, on one of the Bermuda islands. In strict propriety, the circumstances attending that disaster, having furnished an important part of the story of the piece before us, ought now to be recited in the first place; but as it was necessary to state them minutely in a former volume for the purpose of ascertaining its date, I shall here only refer the reader to the Essay, in which a very ample detail of them may be found.* The occurrence of the tempest, from the extraordinary circumstances which attended it, and the interest that it excited in a numerous body of his contemporaries, [forced] itself upon his notice; and yet supplied him with but a single, though important event. Hence, before it could be used for a dramatick purpose, it became necessary to *form* a fable that would accord with this incident; for surely it must be allowed to be in the highest degree improbable, that, just when the occasion demanded it, he should have *found* a tale corresponding in its principal parts with the story of *The Tempest*, as we now have it; in which an usurper was represented as having been assailed at sea by a furious storm, similar in its effects to that in his contemplation, and wrecked on an enchanted and almost desert island, inhabited only by a savage, an ærial spirit, a young lady, and her father, the rightful prince, whom that usurper had despoiled of his dukedom. It follows, therefore, that our poet, on this occasion, must have taken a course somewhat different from what he usually pursued; and that, in order to avail himself of the popular topick thus presented to him, he was under the necessity of adopting such incidents as he could either invent or quickly find, taking care that they should sufficiently harmonize with the particular fact on which *he had already determined* to write a play.

Of that part of the story which was suggested by the disastrous storm above mentioned, enough has already been said; and with respect to all the rest of the fable, it was, I am persuaded, in a great measure, of his own invention; set on work and aided in a slight degree, partly by a play written about twenty years before by one of his dramatick predecessors, whose reputation then stood extremely high, and to whom he has other similar obligations; partly, by the sixth metrical tale of George Turberville, one of the most distinguished poets of his time; and partly by the popular histories of voyages of discovery with which Shakspeare doubtless was perfectly conversant.

* See An Attempt to ascertain the Chronology of Shakspeare's plays, vol. ii. Art. *Tempest*.

That it may be seen whether what I have now suggested be well founded, it will be necessary to review the principal circumstances that occur in *The Tempest*, of which the story is shortly this :—

Prospero, Duke of Milan, being fond of study and retirement, delegates his power in a great measure to his younger brother, Antonio, who confederates with Alonso, King of Naples, in order to deprive his elder brother of his dukedom, and to obtain it absolutely for himself; and to induce that King to assist him in effectuating this unjust and wicked scheme, he promises to pay tribute, and to do homage, to Naples, or, in other words, to make Milan a fief to that crown. Alonso having agreed to assist him on that condition, by their joint efforts : Prospero, who was extremely popular, and whom therefore they could not venture to kill, was hurried away with his daughter Miranda, the heir of his dukedom, and at three years old first put on board a bark, and finally into an old and rotten boat without sail or hulling, with only some fresh water and a scanty supply of provisions, together with a few books and some of his more costly and splendid garments, with which he was furnished by the humanity of Gonzalo, an old courtier. By the Divine mercy they arrived safely on a desert island, about twelve years before the commencement of the play. Miranda being at that time an infant, had no recollection of ever having seen a man. On this island, on which they found no human creature but a savage named Caliban, their mansion was only a poor *cell*, where Prospero amused his solitary hours with educating and instructing his daughter.

Alonso, who had been his inveterate enemy, having agreed to marry his daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis, for that purpose goes thither by sea, accompanied by his brother Sebastian, his son Ferdinand, his daughter already mentioned, and some of his courtiers; together with Antonio, the usurping Duke of Milan. Having left the lady with her husband at Tunis, they embarked again in several ships, intending to return to Naples; and after sailing for some time, they came near the island on which the banished Duke of Milan and his daughter lived. Prospero, who had studied the necromantick art, and therefore could at his pleasure command the elements, finding his enemies now in his power, raises a great tempest, that wrecks the King's ship only, which is safely lodged in a deep nook of the isle, so that none of the passengers are lost. The rest of the fleet, after having been dispersed by the storm, meet in consort, and return in great grief to Naples, supposing that the vessel which carried the King was lost, and, consequently, that he had perished.

Ferdinand, the King's son, by the management of Prospero, being separated from his father, and landed on a different part of the island, Alonso, supposing him drowned, is plunged in extreme

grief for his loss. Ferdinand, however, being preserved, is by Prospero's art brought to the same part of the island where he and Miranda reside; and on seeing the lady falls at once in love with her. She is no less struck with him; and after some little difficulty, Prospero consents to their marriage.

In the mean while he confines Alonso, and those who had landed with him, in a lime-grove near his cell, under the charge of one of his spirits named Ariel. After having for some time, punished his brother Antonio, and his confederate the King of Naples, together with their followers, who, being terrified by demons, become distracted, his generous nature inclines him to pardon them all; which he accordingly does, extending the same mercy to Caliban and his accomplices, who had conspired to murder him; and after having shown them his power by "an airy charm," he resolves to break his staff, to drown his book, and to abjure the necromantick art for ever. He then gives Alonso the pleasing intelligence of the safety of his son, and his marriage to Miranda, and introduces them to their father; and having informed the King that he would accompany him to Naples, to be present at the solemnization of the marriage of Ferdinand and Miranda, and afterwards resume his dukedom at Milan, he concludes the play by an Epilogue soliciting the favour of the audience.

Independent of the magick of this comedy, and all that concerns Miranda, Ariel, and Caliban, the plot, as appears from this slight sketch of it, is very simple; and, as far as relates to the marriage of Clanvil, at Tunis, was, I imagine, suggested by one of Turberville's tales; the rest, independent of the tempest (the origin of which has been given elsewhere) was, I conceive, suggested by a play written by Robert Green, and entitled "The comical history of Alphonsus, King of Arragon," which was printed in 1599, but must have been written several years before, the author having died in the year 1592.

In the first scene of Greene's play, which, though denominated a comedy, has no claim whatsoever to that title, being in truth a most *sad* dramattick *history*, Carinus, the father of Alphonsus, informs him, that he (Carinus) is the rightful heir to the crown of Arragon; but that his father, Ferdinandus, was several years ago put to death by his (Ferdinandus') younger brother, in consequence of which cruel act, Flaminus, the son of that brother, at that moment possessed the crown of Arragon. On this information, Alphonsus, in spite of his father's entreaties, vows he will endeavour to recover the crown; and for that purpose, having left his father, he tenders his services to Belinus, King of Naples, then at war with the usurping King of Arragon, on condition that, if he should be victorious, he shall have whatever he demands, even the crown of Arragon itself. Belinus agrees to this con-

dition, and Alphonsus engages in the battle, which had at this time commenced : and having killed his kinsman, Flaminius, the usurper of Arragon, he claims the crown, and obtains it ; but on his insisting that the King of Naples should do him homage, they quarrel, and Alphonsus turns his arms against Belinus ; who, in spite of the support which he derived from his ally the Duke of Milan, and a considerable body of forces which that Prince had brought with him to the combat, is completely routed, and obliged to fly for succour to Amurach, Emperor of the Turks.

The Duke of Milan having been a principal agent in assisting the younger brother of Ferdinandus, the grandfather of Alphonsus, to deprive Ferdinandus of his life, to banish Carinus and himself, the rightful heirs of Arragon, and to transmit the crown wrongfully to Flaminius. Alphonsus, now invested with regal power, had particular pleasure in depriving him of his dukedom : a feeling which he indulges immediately after the battle, by creating Miles, one of his followers, Duke of Milan, in his room : Lelius, another follower, he makes King of Naples, in the room of the fugitive Belinus ; and to Albinus, one of the generals of the routed king, he gives the crown of Arragon ; intending himself to pursue Belinus, even to the foot of Amurach's throne.

The deposed Duke of Milan, having escaped from the battle with life, flies, we are not told whither, and is afterwards introduced in great distress, having wandered about without food for three days. In this unhappy state (like Antonio in *The Tempest*) he meets Carinus, the man whom he had so grievously wronged, near the cell in which that unfortunate prince had lived for twenty years. Carinus soon recognizes his old enemy, and, after some conversation, stabs him ; and having previously learned from him that Alphonsus had overcome the King of Naples and recovered the crown of Arragon, he determines to go immediately to Naples, to witness his son's elevation to his new dignity. With the remainder of this play—the war of Alphonsus against Belinus and Amurach, and his final marriage with Iphigena, Amurach's daughter, we have no concern.

Undoubtedly Shakspeare was induced to place a magician in his desert island, by the accounts of the Bermudas, recently published before he wrote this play. This magician he has named Prospero ; and it seems to me in the highest degree probable that the thought of making Prospero Duke of Milan—of deposing him by the artifice of a younger brother, in confederacy with the King of Naples,—and of banishing the Duke, together with his daughter, the rightful and sole heir of the dukedom,—was suggested by the circumstance of the King of Arragon's being deprived of his crown and life by his younger brother, with the aid of the Duke of Milan, an active agent in effectuating that measure, and in banishing Carinus and his son, Alphonsus, the rightful heirs of the

crown of Arragon, who fly to a remote country, and fix their residence in the woods, in a miserable cell. Shakspeare, according to his usual course, twisted the story to his own purpose. In Greene's play, the Duke of Milan, instead of being the principal personage, being a subordinate coadjutor with the younger brother of Ferdinandus, in depriving his elder brother of a crown; in Shakspeare's comedy, the King of Naples being confederate with the younger brother of the Duke of Milan in depriving his elder brother of his dukedom. The circumstances,—that Shakspeare's king is king of Naples; and that a king of Naples is also introduced in Greene's play; that a requisition of homage, though not in the same form, nor for the same end, occurs in each of these pieces—that the name of Ferdinand is found in both, though in the *Tempest* he is the son, and in the history of Alphonsus the father:—and that Greene's Duke is Duke of Milan, and in the hour of distress is brought to the cell of the man whom he had highly injured and contributed to banish; all these circumstances, I say, appear to me to add great probability to what has been now suggested. The hints, however, furnished by Greene, are so slight, that their adoption detracts no more from the merit of Shakspeare than his having formed *The Winter's Tale* on the same writer's *Dorastus and Faunia*.

And still slighter is that supplied by the sixth tragical tale of Turberville, which merely, I imagine, induced our author to marry the daughter of Alonso to a king of Tunis. The argument of that tale is as follows:

William, King of Sicily, had a grandson named Gerbino, a very accomplished knight, the fame of whose deserts had reached the daughter of the King of Tunis, who at that time paid tribute to the King of Sicily. The beauty and accomplishments of this lady had also reached Gerbino, and so strongly excited his curiosity, that he sent some merchants under the pretence of selling his jewels, &c. to present his respects to her, and to bring him a more particular description of her person. In consequence of their report a correspondence took place between them, and they plighted their troth to each other.

In the mean while the King of Granate (Granada) had heard of the great beauty of the daughter of the King of Tunis, and made proposals of marriage to her in due form, and her father consented to the match, to the great distress of the lady.

The King of Tunis having had some intimation that his daughter (whose name is not given) was attached to Gerbino, was apprehensive that he might molest her in her passage by sea to the King of Granada, to whom she was to be espoused; and therefore sent an embassy to the King of Sicily, the grandfather of Gerbino, to secure his friendship, and to obtain his promise that none of his subjects should attack the vessel which was to carry his daughter to Granada: which the Sicilian King knowing nothing

of his grandson's passion, faithfully promises, and sends his gauntlet as a pledge of his good faith, to be carried with the lady in a new ship which her father ordered to be built at Carthage for her conveyance.

The lady having heard how she was to be disposed of, immediately sent a messenger to Gerbino at Palermo, to inform him of this event, and that now was his time to give a proof of his courage, and to save her from being made the wife of another. On this intelligence, having provided two gallies well furnished with rowers, he remained in Sardinia till his beloved mistress should pass by. On observing her vessel approach, he embarked. The Saracens on board her ship, showed him the gauntlet; which was to be their passport; but to little purpose. Gerbino having seen the lady on the poop of the ship *for the first time*, became still more enamoured of her beauty; and tauntingly observed on the production of the gauntlet, that having not brought his falcon with him, he had no need of a glove, and that unless they resigned the lady to him, he would destroy their ship and them. As this requisition could not be complied with, the fight commences, and after some time, the Saracens bring the lady on deck, and having killed her, throw her limbs into the sea, telling Gerbino he might thus possess her. In revenge for this insult, Gerbino destroyed their ship; and having collected the fragments of the body of his mistress, returns to Sicily, where his grandfather, for his not having paid due respect to his gauntlet, orders him to be executed. Such is Turberville's tale*, formed on the fourth novel of the fourth day of Boccace.

Here too, I conceive Shakspeare twisted the story to his own purpose; for in this tale we find the daughter of the King of Tunis carried by sea to be married to the heir of Granada, and before she arrives at her husband's court, destroyed and thrown into the deep: In *The Tempest*, the King of Naples proceeds with his daughter to Tunis, where she arrives in safety, and is married to the King; and her father and brother are afterwards shipwrecked in their return to Naples. There is, it must be acknowledged, nothing uncommon between the two stories, except a passage by sea for the purpose of marriage at Tunis, and a disaster attending that event; in the one case preceding the marriage, in the other following it; in one the bride sets out from Naples, arrives safe at Tunis, and is married there; but her friends who accompany her are afterwards

* "Tragical tales, translated by Turberville in time of his troubles, out of sundrie Italians, with the argument and l'envoye of each tale." 8vo. 1587. There was a former edition in 1576. On one of this author's comick tales, a work mentioned by Sir John Harrington, there is reason to believe Shakspeare founded his *Much Ado About Nothing*.

plunged in the sea by a storm, from which, however, they suffer but little: in the other the lady sets out from Tunis, but does not arrive at the place of her destination, her own friends choosing to throw her into the sea, rather than suffer her to be taken forcibly out of their hands by a lover who they conceived had no title to her.—Turberville's tale therefore is not produced as bearing any striking resemblance to that part of *The Tempest*, with which it is here placed in juxtaposition; but merely as it might have led our poet,—when for the purpose of giving dignity to his storm he found it expedient to introduce a royal party on the sea,—to make the business that should place them on that element, the *celebration of a marriage at Tunis*. *

With respect to the magick of this piece, it was unquestionably Shakspeare's own. The popular notions that the Bermuda Islands were an enchanted region possessed by devils, naturally suggested the necromancy of Prospero and the agency of Ariel and the other ministering spirits introduced in *The Tempest*; yet, necromancy had been employed on the stage before our author's time. In an old play, of which but one copy is known to exist, entitled "*The rare Triumphes of Love and Fortune, Plaide before the Queenes most excellent majestie, wherein are manie fine conceites with great delight*," 4to. 1589†. Romelio, on a false charge having been *banished* by Duke Phyzantius, assumes the disguise of a hermit, takes refuge in a *cave*, and studies the black art, which he practises with such success that he strikes Armenio, the Duke's son, dumb; and then assuming the character of an *up-landish* Physician, he by his art cures him again and restores him to his speech. Hermione, his son, who is in love with Fidelity, the Duke's daughter, is so disgusted with necromancy, that in his father's absence he resolves to burn his books, which being done the father loses his power, and goes mad. Previously to this act, Hermione enters with some of his father's books under his arm, and recites the following lines:

* * * * *

"And therefore I perceive he strangely useth it,

"Inchaunting and transforming that his fancy doth not fit:

"As I may see by these his vile blasphemous books

"My soule abhorres, as often as mine eye upon them lookes.

* Even the slight circumstance of the place where the ship that carried Gerbino's mistress was built, appears to have dwelled on the poet's mind; and hence perhaps the mention of Carthage and Dido in the second Act of his comedy.

† In the library of The Marquis of Stafford. This piece, I think, was written by the author of Solyman and Perseda; and I suspect that Thomas Kyd was the writer of both.

"What gaine can countervaille the danger that they bring?
 "For man to sell his soule to sinne, is't not a greevous
 thing?

"To captivate his minde and all the giftes therein
 "To that which is of others all the most ungratious sinne.

* * * * *

"Such is this art : such is the studie of this skill,
 "This supernaturall devise, this magicke, such it will.
 "In ransacking his cave, these bookes I lighted on,
 "And with his leave I'll be so bolde, whilst he abroad is
 gone,

"To burne them all, for best that serveth for this stuffe,
 "I doubt not but at his returne to please him well enough ;
 "And, gentlemen, I pray, and so desire I shall,
 "You would abhor this study, for it will confound you all."

Here clearly is no other archetype than what many of the romances of the time would have furnished. It is one of the first principles of necromancy, that when the books of the magician are destroyed, his power is at an end ; and accordingly Prospero when he abjures magick, says, he will bury his staff or rod, and "deeper than ever plummet sounded drown his book."

We have now considered the several parts of the story of this piece. It remains only to investigate and trace the character of Caliban, which, though in some respects invented by our author, was yet not entirely without an archetype. This archetype, as my very learned friend Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster, suggests to me, may be found in Pigafetta's Account of Magliani's, or, as we call him, Magellan's Voyage to the Southern Pole ; and I entirely agree with him in thinking that the Savage, who came aboard his ship, by that voyager called a Patagonian, was the remote progenitor of the servant-monster in *The Tempest*. Of this savage our poet found a particular account in Robert Eden's *History of Travaile*, 4to. 1577, which contains an abbreviated translation of Pigafetta's work. Eden's book being far from common, it will be proper here to extract from it what relates to our present subject :

"Departyng from hence (says the translator) they sayled to the 49 degree and a halfe under the pole antartike ; where being wyntered, they were inforced to remayne there for the space of two monethes ; all which tyme they saw no man : except that one day by chaunce they espyed a man of the stature of a giant, who came to the haven *dounsing and singyng*, and shortly after seemed to cast dust over his head. The captayne sent one of his men to the shore, with the shippe boate, who made the lyke signe of peace. The which thyng the giant seeing, was out of feare, and came with the captayne's servant, to his presence, into a little ilande. When he sawe the captayne with certayne of his company about him, he was greatly amased, and made signes, *holding up his hande to hea-*

ven, signifying thereby, *that our men came from thence*. This giant was so byg, that the head of one of our men of a meane stature came but to his waste. He was of good corporation, and well made in all partes of his bodie, with a large visage painted with divers colours, but for the most parte, yelow. Uppon his cheekes were paynted two hartes, and red circles about his eyes. The heare of his head was coloured whyte, and his apparell was the skynne of a beast sowde together. This beast (as seemed unto us,) had a large head, and great eares lyke unto a mule, with the body of a camell and tayle of a horse. The feete of the giant were fouled in the sayde skynne, after the manner of shooes. He had in his hande a bygge and shorte bowe, the sleyng whereof was made of a sinewe of that beaste. He had also a bundle of long arrowes made of reedes, feathered after the manner of ours, typte with sharpe stones, in the stead of iron heades. The captayne caused him to eate and drinke, and gave him many thinges and among other a great looking glasse, in the which as soone as he sawe his own lykeness, was sodaynly afrayde, and started backe with suche violence, that hee overthrewe two that stood nearest about him. When the captayne had thus gyven him certayne haukes belles, and other great belles, with also a looking glasse, a combe, and a payre of beades of glasse, he sent him to lande with foure of his own men well armed. Shortly after, they sawe an other giant of somewhat greater stature with his bowe and arrowes in his hande. As hee drew nearer unto our men, hee layde his hande on his head, and poynted up towards heaven, and our men dyd the lyke. The captayne sent his shippe boate to bring him to a litle ilande, beyng in the haven. This giant was very tractable and pleasaunt. He *soong* and *daunsed*, and in his daunsing lefte the print of his feete on the ground.—After other xv dayes were past, there came foure other gigantes, without any weapons but had hid their bowes and arrowes in certayne bushes. The captayne retayned two of these, which were youngest and best made. He tooke them by a deceite, in this maner;—that giving them knyves, sheares, looking glasses, belles, beades of chrystal and such other trifles, he so fylled their handes, that they coulde holde no more; then caused two payre of shackels of iron to be put on their legges, making signes that he would also give them those chaynes, which they lyked very well, because they were made of bright and shining metall. And whereas they could not carry them bycause theyr handes were full, the other gigantes would have caryed them, but the captayne would not suffer them. When they felt the shackels fast about theyr legges, they began to doubt; but the captayne dyd put them in comfort, and bade them stande still. In fine, when they sawe how they were deceived, they roared lyke bulles, and cryed uppon their *great devill*, *Setebos*, to help them.—They say, that when any of them dye, there appeare x or xii devils, *leaping and dauns-*

ing about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to have their bodies paynted with divers colours, and that among other there is one seene bigger then the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoycing. This great Devyll they call *Setebos*, and call the lesse *Cheleule*. One of these gigantes which they tooke, declared by signes that he had seene devylles with two hornes above their heades, with *long heare downe to theyr feete*, and that they caste fourth fyre at theyr throates, both *before* and *behind*. The capayne named these people *Patagoni*. The most parte of them weare the *skynnes* of such beastes whereof I have spoken before. They lyve of *raw flesh*, and a certayne sweete roote which they call *capar*."

When various passages in this comedy, and the language, dress, and general demeanour of Caliban * are considered; there can, I think, be little doubt that in the formation of that character Shakspeare had the foregoing passages in his thoughts. Holland's translation of Pliny also, I think, furnished him with some traits of his monster. In the first chapter of the seventh book of the Natural History, which treats of the "strange and wondrous shapes of sundrie nations," we find the following passage: "Tanson writeth that the *Choromandæ* are a savage and wild people: *distinct voice, and speech they have none* †, but instead thereof they keep an horrible nashing and *hideous noise*; *rough* they are, and *hairy* all over their bodies; eyes they have red like the howlets, and brothed they bee like dogges ‡. See also

* The dress worn by this character, which doubtless was originally prescribed by the poet himself, and has been continued, I believe, since his time, is a large bear-skin, or the skin of some other animal; and he is usually represented with long shaggy hair, as in the foregoing description. In the play we find Stephano speaking of Caliban's two mouths and a forward and backward voice, which may have been suggested by the words above-quoted. In the same scene Caliban asks, "Hast thou dropp'd from heaven?" and in other places twice mentions his dam's god, *Setebos*. The *singing* and *dauncing* of our savage, Act II. Sc. II. (for such is usually the stage representation,) seem to be derived from the same source.

† So, in *The Tempest*, Act I. Sc. II.:

"——— Abhorred slave,
 " Which any point of goodness will not take;
 " Being capable of all ill, I pitied thee,
 " Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
 " One thing or other; when thou did'st not, savage,
 " Know thine own meaning, and would'st gabble like
 " A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
 " With words that made them known."

‡ Natural History, translated by Philemon Holland, folio, 1601, p. 136.

Spenser, in the dedication of his *Wild Man, Fairy Queen*, book vi. c. iv. st. 11 : [for a special purpose, however, the great poet has given some other tints to his portrait.]

* * * * *

“For other language had he none nor speech,

“But a soft murmur and *confused sound*

“*Of senselesse words* (which Nature did him teach

“To expresse his passions) which his reason did empeach.”

I may add, that having formed the character of his savage by blending together these several descriptions, and made him the offspring of a devil and Sycorax; he also in its composition availed himself of the current notions prevalent in his own time respecting the Devil and the Powke or Robin Goodfellow, as appears from various passages in this comedy*.

The names of the principal characters in this play are, Alonso, Sebastian, Prospero, Antonio, Ferdinand, Gonzalo, Adrian, Francisco, Caliban, Miranda, and Ariel. I had long entertained a notion that several of these names were suggested to Shakspeare, by some book of voyages, which he had recently read before he sat down to write it. And the perusal of Eden's *History of Travaille*, 1577, already mentioned, abundantly confirms that opinion; for there are found the names of Alonso, Ferdinand, (which was likewise presented to him by Greene's play,) Sebastian, Gonzales (which he has changed to Gonzalo), and Antonio †; a circumstance that adds some support to what has been already

* Thus Caliban, Act II. Sc. II.:

“I prythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;

“And I with my *long nails* will dig thee pig-nuts;” &c.

The Devil was usually represented with long *unpared nails*. See a note on the words—“Pare thy nails, dad,” *Twelfth-Night*, Act V. Sc. ult. So also, Caliban, when Prospero reproaches him with having attempted to violate the honour of his daughter, replies, “*Oh ho, oh ho*, would it had been done!” where we have the ordinary exclamation both of the devil when introduced speaking exultingly, and of the Powke or Robin Goodfellow. So, in the well known epitaph: “*Oh ho*, quoth the devil, 'tis my John a Combe.” See also *The Midsummer-Night's Dream*, vol. v. p. 284, n. 7.

† But neyther here beyng able to bryng his sute to passe, hee caused the matter to bee moved to the kyng of Portugule, Don Alonzo. the fyfth of that name.” *Hist. of Travayle*, 4to. 1577, p. 2, (b.)

It should be remembered that Alphonsus, Alphonse, Alphonzo, and Alonzo, are used indiscriminately for the same Christian name.

“And thus shortly after, by means of Alonzo of Quintanilia, Colon [Columbus] was brought to the presence and audience of the cardinall Don Pero Gonzales of Mehooza.” *Ibid.* p. 3.

suggested concerning the character of Caliban, being partly formed on some passages in that book.

The name of Adrian, which does not, I think, occur in that work, was probably borrowed from Adrian Gilbert, a great voyager, the brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh. That of Ariel was taken from the sacred writings: "Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt!" Isaiah, xxix. 1. See also the fourth and sixth verses, which may have particularly struck our author, and induced him thus to denominate Prospero's principal ministering spirit: "And thou [Ariel] shalt be brought down, and shalt *speak out of the ground*, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be, as of *one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground*, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust."—"Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hosts with *thunder*, and with earthquake, and great noise, with storm and tempest, and the flame of devouring fire."

Caliban, as was long since observed by Dr. Farmer, is merely the metathesis of Canibal. Of the Canibals a long account is given by Eden, *ubi supra*.

The name of Claribel introduced in this play, though not one of the persons represented, is found in the old History of George Lord Faulconbridge, which was printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. She there appears as the concubine of Richard the First, and mother of the Lord Faulconbridge. But in the present instance, the name most probably was taken from Spenser's Faery Queene, book ii. c. iv. where Claribell, the betrothed mistress of Phaon is introduced:

"——— a lady fayre, of great degree,
 "The which was born of noble parentage,
 "And sat in highest seat of dignitie." *

"The same Franciscus, being partner of the travayles and daungers of Gonzales." *Ibid.* p. 153.

"Gonzales Ferdinandus Oeviedus of the West Indies." *Ibid.* p. 185.

"When I had said these words, the teares fell from the eyes of Peter Antonia." *Ibid.* p. 410.

In p. 354, we have—"Of the north-east frostie sea, and lykewise of the viages of that worthie old man Sebastien Cabot, sometymes governour of the companie of the merchantes of Cathaye in the citie of London;" and his name occurs frequently afterwards.

* The story of Claribell in Spenser's poem is nearly the same as that of Hero in Shakspeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, and hence might have particularly attracted our poet's notice, though

The origin of Setebos, who, like Claribel, is only spoken of, has been already pointed out; and an ingenious critick has with great probability shown that the name of Sycorax may have been ormed from a passage in Batman's revised translation of Bartholome de Proprietatibus, edit. 1582, lib. xiii. c. 10*.

Though Greene's play presented the name of Alphonsus (which is the same as Alphonzo or Alonzo,) and Ferdinand, I think it not improbable that our poet may have also had in his thoughts Dent's translation of the History of Philip de Comines, folio, 1596, p. 293; where an account is given of the conduct of Alphonso or Alonzo, the second king of Naples, and his son Ferdinand, (a prince of twenty-four years of age,) when their capital was assailed by Charles the Eighth of France, instigated by Lewis Sforza, who wished to wrest the duchy of Milan from his nephew, the reigning Duke. In the opposite page we find these words: "Notwithstanding he [Pope Alexander the Sixth,] held still in prison the Cardinall Ascoigne [Asconius] his Vice-Chancellor, and brother to the duke of Milan, and Prospero Calonne, some said by their own accord:" and a little lower we have—"under the leading of the Lord Rodolph of Mantua, and the Lord Galeot of Mirandala." Did not these personages suggest the names of Prospero and (by contraction,) Miranda? Prospero, however, had before been introduced in the scene in the original representation of Every Man in his Humour, and was indeed the name of a riding master in London in Shakspeare's time, who probably was a Neapolitan.

From these statements it should seem that the sources from which the names of the several characters in this comedy were drawn, were as various as those from which the story of the piece itself was derived.

The three principal incidents of The Tempest, independent of the magick, we have seen, are, the storm, and consequent shipwreck on a desert island; the previous deposition of the Duke of Milan, and the banishment of him and his daughter; and the marriage of the daughter of the King of Naples to the King of Tunis. Having found *disjecti membra poetæ*, the ground and seed-plot of the first of these incidents, in a real fact of the time; of the second, in a dramatick fiction of a writer with whom Shakspeare was well acquainted, and to whom in another instance in the year immediately preceding he was indebted; and the hint, at least, which might have given rise to the third; it is, I conceive, unnecessary, and would be in vain, to seek for any tale or novel comprizing a connected series of circumstances and adven-

probably he formed that comedy on Turberville's Tale on the same subject.

* See Mr. Douce's Observations on Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 8.

tures, similar to those which form the subject of this comedy. In uniting two very different events in this play, and connecting that of the storm with the fabricated story of the Duke of Milan, (formed probably, in a certain degree, on some of the circumstances in Greene's *Alphonsus*;) he has only followed the course which he appears to have pursued in *The Merchant of Venice*; for the story of the *bond*, and that of the *caskets*, are two distinct tales, wholly independent of each other; and no narrative has yet been found in which they were united previously to the appearance of that play. The hints which gave rise to the beautiful comedy before us, are so slight that they leave our author in full possession of the highest praise that the most original and transcendent genius can claim. The character of Prospero considered, not as Duke of Milan, but as the father of Miranda, and a magician; those of Miranda herself, of Ariel, and of Caliban (in a great measure), and all the comick characters, in which our poet took great delight, and of which he had an inexhaustible fund in his mind, are unquestionably all the creatures of his own boundless imagination. MALONE.

However well founded Mr. Malone may be in supposing that many suggestions as to the conduct of the fable in this play were derived from the sources he has pointed out, yet I cannot but still be of opinion that there was some novel which Mr. Collins had seen, such as he described. "His disorder (as Johnson has described it in his *Lives of the Poets*) was not alienation of mind, but general laxity and feebleness, a deficiency rather of his vital than intellectual powers." Such a person was much more likely to have confounded in his memory two books which he had met with nearly at the same time, than to have fancied that he had read what existed only in his own imagination. Nor does it follow, as Mr. Malone objects, that he must have happened to meet with this story just at the very time he wanted it. We may suppose that he had stored up in his memory a variety of such materials, quæ mox depromere possit. Besides, it is not said that the storm made any part of the novel, but that it principally appeared to have suggested the magical part of *The Tempest*. I have indeed been told by a friend that he had some years ago actually perused an Italian novel which answered to Mr. Collins's description; but as it cannot be now recovered, I shall not venture to say any thing more upon that point. BOSWELL.

PERSONS REPRESENTED *.

ALONSO, King of Naples.

SEBASTIAN, his Brother.

PROSPERO, the rightful Duke of Milan.

ANTONIO, his Brother, the usurping Duke of Milan.

FERDINAND, Son to the King of Naples.

GONZALO, an honest old Counsellor of Naples.

ADRIAN, }
FRANCISCO, } Lords.

CALIBAN, a savage and deformed Slave.

TRINCULO, a Jester.

STEPHANO, a drunken Butler.

Master of a Ship, Boatswain, and Mariners.

MIRANDA, Daughter to Prospero.

ARIEL, an airy Spirit.

IRIS, }
CERES, }
JUNO, }
Nymphs, }
Reapers, } Spirits.

Other Spirits attending on Prospero.

SCENE, the Sea, with a Ship; afterwards an uninhabited Island.

* This enumeration of persons is taken from the folio 1623.

STEEVENS.

TEMPEST.

ACT I. SCENE I.

On a Ship at Sea.

A Storm with Thunder and Lightning.

Enter a Ship-master and a Boatswain.

MASTER. Boatswain¹,—

BOATS. Here, master: What cheer?

MAST. Good: Speak to the mariners: fall to't yarely², or we run ourselves aground: bestir, bestir.
[*Erit.*]

Enter Mariners.

BOATS. Heigh, my hearts; cheerly, cheerly, my hearts; yare, yare: Take in the top-sail; Tend to

¹ Boatswain.] In this naval dialogue, perhaps the first example of sailor's language exhibited on the stage, there are, as I have been told by a skilful navigator, some inaccuracies and contradictory orders. JOHNSON.

The foregoing observation is founded on a mistake. These orders should be considered as given, not at once, but successively, as the emergency required. One attempt to save the ship failing, another is tried. MALONE.

See the note at the end of the play. BOSWELL.

² — fall to't YARELY.] i. e. Readily, nimbly. Our author is frequent in his use of this word. So, in Decker's *Satiromastix*: "They'll make his muse as yare as a tumbler." STEEVENS.

Here it is applied as a sea-term, and in other parts of the scene. So he uses the adjective, Act V. Sc. V.: "Our ship is tight and yare." And in one of the *Henries*: "yare are our ships." To this day the sailors say, "sit yare to the helm." Again, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II. Sc. III.: "The tackles yarely frame the office." T. WARTON.

the master's whistle.—Blow, till thou burst thy wind³, if room enough!

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, FERDINAND, GONZALO, and others.

ALON. Good boatswain, have care. Where's the master? Play the men⁴.

BOATS. I pray now, keep below.

ANT. Where is the master, Boatswain?

BOATS. Do you not hear him? You mar our labour; Keep your cabins: you do assist the storm⁵.

³ Blow, till thou burst THY wind, &c.] Perhaps it might be read: "Blow, till thou burst, wind, if room enough." JOHNSON.

Perhaps rather—"Blow, till thou burst *thee*, wind! if room enough." Beaumont and Fletcher have copied this passage in *The Pilgrim*:

"——— Blow, blow west wind,

"Blow till thou rive!"

Again, in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, 1609:

"1st Sailor. Blow, and *split thyself*!"

Again, in *K. Lear*:

"Blow, winds, and *crack your cheeks*!"

Again, in Chapman's version of the fifth book of Homer's *Odyssey*:

"Such as might shield them from the winter's worst,

"Though steel it breath'd and *blew as it would burst*."

Again, in Fletcher's *Double Marriage*:

"——— Rise, winds,

"*Blow till you burst the air*.—"

The allusion in these passages, as Mr. M. Mason observes, is to the manner in which the winds were represented in ancient prints and pictures. STEEVENS.

⁴ Play the men.] i. e. act with spirit, behave like men. So, in Chapman's translation of the second *Iliad*:

"Which doing, thou shalt know what souldiers *play the men*,

"And what the cowards."

Again, in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, 1590, p. 2:

"Viceroy and peers of Turkey, *play the men*."

"Ω φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε, *Iliad* V. v. 529. STEEVENS.

Again, in Scripture, 2 Sam. x. 12: "Be of good courage, and let us *play the men* for our people,—" MALONE.

⁵ — assist the storm.] So, in *Pericles*:

"Patience, good sir; do not *assist the storm*." STEEVENS

GON. Nay, good, be patient.

BOATS. When the sea is. Hence ! What care these roarers for the name of king ? To cabin : silence : trouble us not.

GON. Good ; yet remember whom thou hast aboard.

BOATS. None that I more love than myself. You are a counsellor ; if you can command these elements to silence, and work the peace of the present⁶, we will not hand a rope more ; use your authority. If you cannot, give thanks you have lived so long, and make yourself ready in your cabin for the mischance of the hour, if it so hap.—Cheerly, good hearts.—Out of our way, I say.

[*Exit.*

GON.⁷ I have great comfort from this fellow : methinks, he hath no drowning mark upon him ; his complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good fate, to his hanging ! make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our own doth little advantage ! If he be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable.

[*Excunt.*

Re-enter Boatswain.

BOATS. Down with the top-mast ; yare ; lower, lower ; bring her to try with main-course⁸. [*A cry*

⁶ —of the present,] i. e. of the present *instant*. So, in the 15th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians : “ — of whom the greater part remain unto this *present*.” STEEVENS.

⁷ Gonzalo.] It may be observed of Gonzalo, that, being the only good man that appears with the king, he is the only man that preserves his cheerfulness in the wreck, and his hope on the island. JOHNSON.

⁸ — bring her to TRY WITH MAIN-COURSE.] Probably from Hackluyt's Voyages, 1598 : “ And when the barke had way, we cut the hauser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and *tried out* all that day *with our maine course*.” MALONE.

This phrase occurs also in Smith's Sea Grammar, 1627, 4to.

within.] A plague upon this howling! they are louder than the weather, or our office.—

Re-enter SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, and GONZALO.

Yet again? what do you here? Shall we give o'er, and drown? Have you a mind to sink?

SEB. A pox o' your throat! you bawling, blasphemous, incharitable dog!

BOATS. Work you, then.

ANT. Hang, cur, hang! you whoreson, insolent noise-maker, we are less afraid to be drowned than thou art.

GON. I'll warrant him from drowning; though the ship were no stronger than a nut-shell, and as leaky as an unstanched wench⁹.

BOATS. Lay her a-hold, a-hold¹; set her two courses; off to sea again², lay her off.

under the article How to handle a Ship in a Storme: "Let us lie as *Trie with our maine course*; that is, to hale the tacke aboard, the sheat close aft, the boling set up, and the helme tied close aboard." P. 40. STEEVENS.

⁹ — an UNSTANCH'D wench,] *Unstanched*, I am willing to believe, means *incontinent*. STEEVENS.

The meaning is clear from a passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Mad Lover*, Act V. Sc. I. where Chilas says to the frightened priestess:

"—— Down you dog, then,

"Be quiet and be *staunch* too: *no inundations*."

BOSWELL.

¹ Lay her a-hold, a-hold;] *To lay a ship a-hold*, is to bring her to lie as near the wind as she can, in order to keep clear of the land, and get her out to sea. STEEVENS.

² — set her two COURSES; off to sea again,] The courses are the main sail and fore sail. This term is used by Raleigh, in his *Discourse on Shipping*. JOHNSON.

The passage, as Mr. Holt has observed, should be pointed, "Set her two courses; off," &c.

Such another expression occurs in Decker's *If this be not a good Play, the Devil is in it*, 1612: "—— off with your Drablers and your Banners; *out with your courses*." STEEVENS.

Enter Mariners wet.

MAR. All lost! to prayers, to prayers! all lost!
[*Exeunt.*

BOATS. What, must our mouths be cold?

GON. The king and prince at prayers! let us assist them,

For our case is as theirs.

SEB. I am out of patience.

ANT. We are merely³ cheated of our lives by drunkards.—

This wide-chapped rascal;—'Would, thou might'st lie drowning,

The washing of ten tides!

GON. He'll be hanged yet;

Though every drop of water swear against it,

And gape at wid'st to glut him⁴.

[*A confused noise within.*] Mercy on us!—We split,

³ merely —] In this place, signifies *absolutely*; in which sense it is used in Hamlet, Act I. Sc. III.:

"—— Things rank and gross in nature

" Possess it *merely*."

Again, in Ben Jonson's Poetaster:

"—— at request

" Of some *mere* friends, some honourable Romans."

STEEVENS.

⁴ — to glut him.] Shakspeare probably wrote, *t' englut him, to swallow him*; for which I know not that *glut* is ever used by him. In this signification, *englut*, from *engloutir*, Fr. occurs frequently, as in Henry VI.:

" Thou art so near the gulf

" Thou needs must be *englutted*."

And again, in Timon and Othello. Yet Milton writes *glutted offal* for *swallowed*, and therefore, perhaps, the present text may stand. JOHNSON.

Thus, in Sir A. Gorges's translation of Lucan, b. vi.:

"—— oylie fragments scarcely burn'd,

" Together she doth scrape and *glut*."

i. e. swallow. STEEVENS.

we split !—Farewell, my wife and children !—Farewell, brother ⁴ !—We split, we split, we split !—

ANT. Let's all sink with the king. [*Exit.*

SEB. Let's take leave of him. [*Exit.*

GON. Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground ; long heath, brown furze ⁵, any thing : The wills above be done ! but I would fain die a dry death. [*Exit,*

SCENE II.

The Island : before the cell of PROSPERO.

Enter PROSPERO and MIRANDA.

MIRA. If by your art, my dearest father, you have Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them :

⁴ Mercy on us ! &c.——Farewell, brother ! &c.] All these lines have been hitherto given to Gonzalo, who has no brother in the ship. It is probable that the lines succeeding the *confused noise within* should be considered as spoken by no determinate characters. JOHNSON.

The hint for this stage direction, &c. might have been received from a passage in the second book of Sidney's *Arcadia*, where the shipwreck of Pyrocles is described, with this concluding circumstance : " But a monstrous cry, begotten of many roaring voyces, was able to infect with feare," &c. STEEVENS.

⁵ — an acre of barren ground ; LONG heath, BROWN furze, &c.] Sir T. Hanmer reads—*ling*, heath, *broom*, furze. Perhaps rightly, though he has been charged with tautology. I find in Harrison's description of Britain, prefixed to our author's good friend Holinshed, p. 91 : "*Brome, heth, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling,*" &c.

FARMER.

Mr. Tollet has sufficiently vindicated Sir Thomas Hanmer from the charge of tautology, by favouring me with specimens of three different kinds of heath which grow in his own neighbourhood. I would gladly have inserted his observations at length ; but, to say the truth, our author, like one of Cato's soldiers who was bit by a serpent,

Ipsè latet penitus congesto corpore mersus. STEEVENS,

The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
 But that the sea⁶, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
 Dashes the fire out. O, I have suffer'd
 With those that I saw suffer ! a brave vessel,
 Who had no doubt some noble creatures in her⁷,
 Dash'd all to pieces. O, 'the cry did knock
 Against my very heart ! Poor souls ! they perish'd.
 Had I been any god of power, I would
 Have sunk the sea within the earth, or e'er⁸

⁶ But that the sea, &c.] So in King Lear :

"The sea in such a storm as his bare head

"In hell-black night endur'd, would have buoy'd up,

"And quench'd the stelled fires." MALONE.

Thus, in Chapman's version of the 21st Iliad :

"—— as if his waves would drowne the skie,

"And put out all the sphere of fire." STEEVENS.

⁷ — CREATURES in her,] The old copy reads—*creature*; but the preceding as well as subsequent words of Miranda seem to demand the emendation which I have received from Theobald.

STEEVENS.

⁸ — or e'er—] i. e. *before*. So, in Ecclesiastes, xii. 6 :
 "Or *ever* the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken——." Again, in our author's Cymbeline :

"—— or e'er I could

"Give him that parting kiss ——." STEEVENS.

Mr. Douce, in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, says, that 'the word *e'er* should be written *ere*, and not *ever*, nor contractedly *e'er*, with which it has no connexion. It is pure Saxon *æp*. The corruption in Ecclesiastes cited in the note [by Mr. Steevens] is as old as the time of Henry the Eighth.'

Mr. Douce's opinions leave room for controversy on very few occasions indeed; on this, however, it may be observed :

1st. That the use of *or* for *ere* is, at least, as old as Chaucer's time. See Canterbury Tales :

"Yet would he have a ferthing *or* he went." V. 257.

"Therefore I rede you this conseil take,

"Forsaketh sinne, *or* sinne you forsake." V. 12220.

"Long erst *or* prime rong of any bell." V. 12596.

"For paramour I loved him first *or* thou." V. 1157.

And 2d. That the Saxon *æp* and *æpne*—[*æp*—*prius*, *antequam*, *priusquam*,—*ere*, *or*,—*sooner than*, *before*;—*æpne*—*aliquando*, *unquam*,—*ever*, *e'er*,—*at any time*;] are two distinct words. *Ere ever*, *or ever*, *or ere*, is, in more modern English, *sooner than*

It should the good ship so have swallowed, and
The freighting * souls within her.

PRO. Be collected ;
No more amazement : tell your piteous heart,
There's no harm done.

MIRA. O, woe the day !

PRO. No harm ⁹.

I have done nothing but in care of thee,
(Of thee, my dear one ! thee, my daughter !) who
Art ignorant of what thou art, nought knowing
Of whence I am ; nor that I am more better ¹
Than Prospero, master of a full poor cell ²,
And thy no greater father.

MIRA. More to know
Did never meddle with my thoughts ³.

* First folio, *fraughting*.

at any time ; and this is the sense in which Shakspeare and the elder authors constantly use the phrase.

The other meanings of these two Saxon words, being inapplicable to the present question, are purposely passed by. *KEMBLE.*

⁹ *Pro.* No harm.] I know not whether Shakspeare did not make Miranda speak thus :

“ O, woe the day ! no harm ? ”

To which Prospero properly answers :

“ I have done nothing but in care of thee.”

Miranda, when she speaks the words, “ O, woe the day ! ” supposes, not that the crew had escaped, but that her father thought differently from her and counted their destruction “ no harm.”

JOHNSON.

¹ — more better —] This ungrammatical expression is very frequent among our oldest writers. So, in *The History of Helyas Knight of the Swan*, bl. l. no date, imprinted by Wm. Copland : “ And also the *more sooner* to come, without prolixity, to the true Chronicles,” &c. Again, in the *True Tragedies of Marius and Scilla*, 1594 :

“ To wait a message of *more better* worth.”

Again, *ibid.* :

“ That hale *more greater* than Cassandra now.”

STEEVENS.

² — full poor cell,] i. e. a cell in a great degree of poverty. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra* : “ I am *full sorry*.” *STEEVENS.*

Pro. 'Tis time
I should inform thee further. Lend thy hand,
And pluck my magick garment from me.—So ;
[*Lays down his mantle.*
Lie there my art⁴.—Wipe thou thine eyes ; have
comfort.
The direful spectacle of the wreck, which touch'd
The very virtue of compassion⁵ in thee,
I have with such provision in mine art
So safely order'd, that there is no soul⁶—

³ Did never MIDDLE with my thoughts.] i. e. *mix* with them. To *meddle* is often used with this sense, by Chaucer. Hence the substantive *medley*. The modern and familiar phrase by which that of Miranda may be explained, is—"never entered my thoughts—never came into my head." STEEVENS.

See Howell's Dict. 1660, in v. *to meddle*; "se mesler de."

MALONE.

It should rather mean—'to interfere, to trouble, to busy itself,' as still used in the North, e. g. Don't *meddle* with me; i. e. Let me alone; Don't molest me. RITSON.

⁴ Lie there my art.] Sir Will. Cecil, lord Burleigh, lord high treasurer, &c. in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when he put off his gown at night, used to say, *Lie there, Lord Treasurer*. Fuller's Holy State, p. 257. STEEVENS.

⁵ — VIRTUE of compassion —] Virtue; the most efficacious part, the energetic quality; in a like sense we say, "The *virtue* of a plant is in the extract." JOHNSON.

⁶ — that there is no soul—] Thus the old editions read; but this is apparently defective. Mr. Rowe, and after him Dr. Warburton, read—‘that there is no soul lost,’ without any notice of the variation. Mr. Theobald substitutes *no foil*, and Mr. Pope follows him. To come so near the right, and yet to miss it, is unlucky: the author probably wrote *no soil*, no stain, no spot; for so Ariel tells:

“ Not a hair perish'd ;

" On their sustaining garments not a blemish,

"But fresher than before."

And Gonzalo, "The rarity of it is, that our garments being drenched in the sea, keep notwithstanding their freshness and glosses." Of this emendation I find that the author of notes on *The Tempest* had a glimpse, but could not keep it. JOHNSON.

"— no soul." Such interruptions are not uncommon to Shakespeare. He sometimes begins a sentence, and, before he con-

No, not so much perdition as an hair,
Betid to any creature in the vessel⁷
Which thou heard'st cry, which thou saw'st sink.

Sit down ;

For thou must now know further.

MIR.A.

You have often

Begun to tell me what I am ; but stopp'd

And left me to a bootless inquisition ;

Concluding, *Stay, not yet.*—

PRO.

The hour's now come ;

The very minute bids thee ope thine ear ;

Obey, and be attentive. Can'st thou remember

A time before we came unto this cell ?

I do not think thou can'st ; for then thou wast not
Out three years old⁸.

MIR.A.

Certainly, sir, I can.

PRO. By what ? by any other house, or person ?

Of any thing the image tell me, that

Hath kept with thy remembrance.

MIR.A.

'Tis far off ;

And rather like a dream than an assurance

That my remembrance warrants : Had I not

Four or five women once, that tended me ?

PRO. 'Thou had'st, and more, Miranda : But how
is it,

cludes it, entirely changes its construction, because another, more forcible, occurs. As this change frequently happens in conversation, it may be suffered to pass uncensured in the language of the stage. STEEVENS.

7 — not so much perdition as an HAIR,

Betid to any creature in the vessel —] Had Shakspeare in his mind St. Paul's hortatory speech to the ship's company, where he assures them that, though they were to suffer shipwreck, "not an *hair* should fall from the head of any of them?" Acts, xxvii. 34. Ariel afterwards says, "Not a *hair* perish'd."

HOLT WHITE.

8 Out three years old.] i. e. Quite three years old, three years old full-out, complete.

So, in the 4th Act : "And be a boy right *out*." STEEVENS.

That this lives in thy mind ? What seest thou else
In the dark backward and abysm of time ⁹ ?
If thou remember'st aught, ere thou cam'st here,
How thou cam'st here, thou may'st.

MIRA. But that I do not.

PRO. Twelve years since, Miranda, twelve years
since ¹,

Thy father was the duke of Milan, and
A prince of power.

MIRA. Sir, are not you my father ?

PRO. Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and
She said—thou wast my daughter ; and thy father
Was duke of Milan ; and his only heir
A princess ;—no worse issued ².

MIRA. O, the heavens !
What foul play had we, that we came from thence ?
Or blessed was't, we did ?

PRO. Both, both, my girl :
By foul play, as thou say'st, were we heav'd thence ;
But blessedly help hither.

⁹ — ABYSM of time?] i. e. Abyss. This method of spelling the word is common to other ancient writers. They took it from the French *abysme*, now written *abime*. So, in Heywood's *Brazen Age*, 1613 :

“ And chase him from the deep *abyssms* below.”

STEEVENS.

¹ Twelve YEARS since, Miranda, twelve YEARS since,] *Years*, in the first instance, is used as a dissyllable, in the second as a monosyllable. But this is not a licence peculiar to the prosody of Shakspeare. In the second book of Sidney's *Arcadia* are the following lines, exhibiting the same word with a similar prosodical variation :

“ And shall she die ? shall cruel *fer* spill

“ Those beames that set so many hearts on *fire* ?”

STEEVENS.

² A princess ;—no worse ISSUED.] The old copy reads—
“ And princess.” For the trivial change in the text I am answerable. *Issued* is *descended*. So, in Greene's *Card of Fancy*, 1608 :

“ For I am by birth a gentleman, and *issued* of such parents,” &c. STEEVENS.

MIRA. O, my heart bleeds
To think o' the teen³ that I have turn'd you to,
Which is from my remembrance! Please you,
further.

PRO. My brother, and thy uncle, call'd Antonio,—

I pray thee, mark me,—that a brother should
Be so perfidious!—he whom, next thyself,
Of all the world I lov'd, and to him put
The manage of my state; as, at that time,
Through all the signiories it was the first,
And Prospero the prime duke; being so reputed
In dignity, and, for the liberal arts,
Without a parallel; those being all my study,
The government I cast upon my brother,
And to my state grew stranger, being transported,
And rapt in secret studies. Thy false uncle—
Dost thou attend me?

MIRA. Sir, most heedfully.

PRO. Being once perfected how to grant suits,
How to deny them; whom to advance, and whom⁴
To trash for over-topping⁵; new created

³ —teen —] Is sorrow, grief, trouble. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“ ——— to my *teen* be it spoken.” STEEVENS.

⁴ — WHOM to advance, and WHOM—] The old copy has *who* in both places. Corrected by the editor of the second folio.

MALONE.

⁵ To trash for over-topping;] *To trash*, as Dr. Warburton observes, is to cut away the superfluities. This word I have met with in books containing directions for gardeners, published in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

The present explanation may be countenanced by the following passage in Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, b. x. ch. 57:

“ Who suffreth none by might, by wealth or blood to
overtopp,

“ Himself gives all preferment, and whom listeth him doth
lop.”

Again, in our author's *K. Richard II.*:

The creatures that were mine ; I say, or chang'd
 them,
 Or else new form'd them : having both the key⁶
 Of officer and office, set all hearts ⁷ i' th' state,

“ Go thou, and, like an executioner,
 “ Cut off the heads of too-fast-growing sprays
 “ That look too lofty in our commonwealth.”

Mr. Warton's note, however, on “ *trash* for his quick hunting,” in the second act of *Othello*, leaves my interpretation of this passage somewhat disputable.

Mr. M. Mason observes, that “ ‘ to trash for overtopping,’ may mean to lop them, because they did overtop, or in order to prevent them from overtopping.” So Lucetta, in the second scene of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, says:

“ I was taken up for laying them down,
 “ Yet here they shall not lie, *for* catching cold.”

That is, lest they should catch cold. See the notes on this passage.

In another place (a note on *Othello*) Mr. M. Mason observes, that Shakspeare had probably in view, when he wrote the passage before us, “ the manner in which Tarquin conveyed to Sextus his advice to destroy the principal citizens of Gabii, by striking off, in the presence of his messengers, the heads of all the tallest poppies, as he walked with them in his garden. STEEVENS.

I think this phrase means “ to correct for too much haughtiness or overbearing.” It is used by sportsmen in the North when they correct a dog for misbehaviour in pursuing the game. This explanation is warranted by the following passage in *Othello*, Act II. Sc. I.:

“ If this poor trash of Venice, whom I *trash*
 “ For his quick hunting.”

It was not till after I had made this remark, that I saw Mr. Warton's note on the above lines in *Othello*, which corroborates it.

DOUCE.

A *trash* is a term still in use among hunters, to denote a piece of leather, couples, or any other weight fastened round the neck of a dog, when his speed is superior to the rest of the pack ; i. e. when he *over-tops* them, when he *hunts too quick*. C.

See *Othello*, vol. ix. p. 315, n. 9. STEEVENS.

⁶ — both the KEY —] This is meant of a key for tuning the harpsichord, spinnet, or virginal ; we call it now a tuning hammer.

SIR J. HAWKINS.

⁷ Of officer and office, set all hearts —] The old copy reads— “ all hearts i' th' state,” but redundantly in regard to metre, and unnecessarily respecting sense ; for what hearts, except such as were i' th' state, could Alonso incline to his purposes ?

To what tune pleas'd his ear ; that now he was
The ivy, which had hid my princely trunk,
And suck'd my verdure out on't ⁸.—Thou attend'st
not.

MIRA. O good sir, I do.

Pro. I pray thee, mark me⁹.
I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated ¹
To closeness, and the bettering of my mind
With that, which, but by being so retir'd,
O'er-priz'd all popular rate, in my false brother
Awak'd an evil nature : and my trust,
Like a good parent ², did beget of him
A falsehood, in its contrary as great
As my trust was ; which had, indeed, no limit,
A confidence sans bound. He being thus lorded,
Not only with what my revenue yielded,
But what my power might else exact,—like one,
Who having, unto truth, by telling of it,
Made such a sinner of his memory,
To credit his own lie ³,—he did believe

I have followed the advice of Mr. Ritson, who judiciously proposes to omit the words now ejected from the text. STEEVENS.

⁸ And suck'd my VERDURE out on't.] So, in Arthur Hall's translation of the first book of Homer, 1581, where Achilles swears by his sceptre :

"Who having lost the sapp of wood, eft greenenesse cannot drawe." STEEVENS.

⁹ I pray thee, mark me.] In the old copy, these words are the beginning of Prospero's next speech ; but, for the restoration of metre, I have changed their place. STEEVENS.

Mr. Steevens placed these words at the close of Prospero's preceding speech. BOSWELL.

¹ I thus neglecting worldly ends, all DEDICATE —] The old copy has—*dedicated* ; but we should read, as in Mr. Steevens's text, *dedicate*. Thus, in Measure for Measure :

"Prayers from fasting maids, whose minds are *dedicate*

"To nothing temporal." RITSON.

² Like a good PARENT, &c.] Alluding to the observation, that a father above the common rate of men has commonly a son below it. *Heroum filii noxæ.* JOHNSON.

He was indeed the duke ; out of the substitution ⁴,
And executing the outward face of royalty,
With all prerogative :—Hence his ambition
Growing,—Dost hear ?

MIRA. Your tale, sir, would cure deafness.

PRO. To have no screen between this part he
play'd

And him he play'd it for, he needs will be
Absolute Milan : Me, poor man !—my library
Was dukedom large enough ⁵ ; of temporal royalties

³ ————— like one,

Who having, UNTO truth, by telling of IT,

Made such a sinner of his memory,

To credit his own lie,] There is, perhaps, no correlative to which the word *it* can with grammatical propriety belong. *Lie*, however, seems to have been the correlative to which the poet meant to refer, however ungrammatically.

The old copy reads—"into truth." The necessary correction was made by Dr. Warburton. STEEVENS.

Mr. Steevens justly observes that there is no correlative, &c. This observation has induced me to mend the passage, and to read :

"Who having unto truth, by telling of *oft*"—instead of, *of it*.

And I am confirmed in this conjecture, by the following passage quoted by Mr. Malone, &c. M. MASON.

There is a very singular coincidence between this passage and one in Bacon's History of King Henry VII. [Perkin Warbeck] "did in all things notably acquit himself ; insomuch as it was generally believed, that he was indeed *Duke Richard*. Nay, *himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lye, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be ; and from a liar to be a believer.*" MALONE.

Mr. Mason's emendation would not much help the passage. What would he be said to be telling ? The sentence is involved, but not, I think, ungrammatical. "Who having made his memory such a sinner to truth as to credit his own lie by telling of it ?"

BOSWELL.

⁴ He was the duke ; out of the substitution,] The old copy reads—"He was *indeed* the duke." I have omitted the word *indeed*, for the sake of metre. The reader should place his emphasis on—was. STEEVENS.

⁵ — Me, poor man !—my library

Was dukedom large enough ;] i. e. large enough *for*. Of

He thinks me now incapable : confederates
 (So dry he was for sway⁶) with the king of Naples,
 To give him annual tribute, do him homage ;
 Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
 The dukedom, yet unbow'd, (alas, poor Milan !)
 To most ignoble stooping.

MIRA.

O the heavens !

PRO. Mark his condition, and the event ; then
 tell me,

If this might be a brother.

MIRA.

I should sin

To think but nobly⁷ of my grandmother :
 Good wombs have borne bad sons.

PRO.

Now the condition.

This king of Naples, being an enemy
 To me inveterate, hearkens my brother's suit ;
 Which was, that he in lieu o' the premises⁸,—
 Of homage, and I know not how much tribute,—
 Should presently extirpate me and mine
 Out of the dukedom ; and confer fair Milan,

this kind of ellipsis see various examples in a note on *Cymbeline*,
 vol. xiii. p. 228, n. 2. MALONE.

⁶ (So DRY he was for sway)] i. e. So *thirsty*. The expression,
 I am told, is not uncommon in the midland counties. Thus, in
 Leicester's Commonwealth : "against the designments of the
 hasty Erle who *thirsteth a kingdome* with great intemperance."
 Again, in *Troilus and Cressida* : "His ambition is *dry*."

STEEVENS.

Our author has a similar expression in *Love's Labour's Lost* :

"My true love's *fasting* pain."

So also, in *King Henry IV. Part I. Act V. Sc. I.* :

"——— Moody beggars *starving* for a time

"Of pell-mell havock and confusion." TALBOT.

⁷ To think BUT nobly —] *But*, in this place, signifies *other-
 wise than*. STEEVENS.

⁸ — IN LIEU o' the premises, &c.] *In lieu of*, means here, in
consideration of ; an unusual acceptance of the word. — So, in
Fletcher's Prophetess, the chorus, speaking of *Drusilla*, says :

"But takes their oaths, *in lieu* of her assistance,

"That they shall not presume to touch their lives."

M. MASON.

With all the honours, on my brother : Whereon,
 A treacherous army levied, one midnight
 Fated to the purpose, did Antonio open
 The gates of Milan ; and, i' the dead of darkness,
 The ministers for the purpose hurried thence
 Me, and thy crying self.

MIRA. Alack, for pity !

I, not rememb'ring how I cried out then⁹,
 Will cry it o'er again ; it is a hint¹,
 That wrings mine eyes to't².

PRO. Hear a little further,
 And then I'll bring thee to the present business
 Which now's upon us ; without the which, this
 story
 Were most impertinent.

MIRA. Wherefore did they not
 That hour destroy us ?

PRO. Well demanded, wench :
 My tale provokes that question. Dear, they durst
 not ;

⁹ — cried out —] Perhaps we should read—cried *on't*.

STEEVENS.

¹ — a HINT,] *Hint* is *suggestion*. So, in the beginning
 speech of the second act :

“ ——— our *hint* of woe

“ Is common ———.”

A similar thought occurs in Antony and Cleopatra, Act V.
 Sc. I. :

“ ——— it is a tidings

“ To wash the eyes of kings.” STEEVENS.

² That wrings mine eyes.] i. e. squeezes the water out of
 them. The old copy reads—

“ That wrings mine eyes *to't*.”

To what? every reader will ask. I have, therefore, by the ad-
 vice of Dr. Farmer, omitted these words, which are unnecessary to
 the metre ; *hear*, at the beginning of the next speech, being used
 as a dissyllable.

To wring, in the sense I contend for, occurs in the Merry Wives
 of Windsor, Act I. Sc. II. : “ his cook, or his laundry, or his
 washer, and his *wringer*.” STEEVENS.

(So dear the love my people bore me) nor set
 A mark so bloody on the business ; but
 With colours fairer painted their foul ends.
 In few, they hurried us aboard a bark ;
 Bore us some leagues to sea ; where they prepar'd
 A rotten carcass of a boat², not rigg'd,
 Nor tackle, sail, nor mast ; the very rats
 Instinctively had quit it³ : there they hoist us,

² — of a BOAT.] The old copy reads—of a *butt*. HENLEY.

It was corrected by Mr. Rowe.

“ In few, they hurried us aboard a bark ;

“ Bore us some leagues to sea ; where they prepar'd

“ A *rotten* carcass of a boat, not rigg'd,

“ Nor *tackle*, sail, nor mast ; the very rats

“ Instinctively had quit it : there they hoist us,” &c. When Shakspeare attributed to the usurper of Prospero's dukedom this cruel treatment of his brother, had he not in his thoughts the atrocious conduct of Athelstane, the natural son of Edward the elder, and the twenty-fifth king of the West-Saxons, who on the death of his father was wrongfully seated on the throne ; and a few years afterwards (anno 934) on the pretended ground of a conspiracy against him by his brother Edwin, according to Bromton the eldest legitimate son of Edward, consigned him to destruction in the manner here described ? The fact was originally told by William of Malmesbury, and is thus related by Holinshed in his Chronicle, in 1586, vol. i. p. 155 :

“ After this was Edwin, the kings brother, accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king : wherupon he was banished the land ; and sent out in an old *rotten* vessel, *without rowers or mariner* ; onelie accompanied with one esquier : so that being lanch'd foorth from the shore, through despaire Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned him selfe.”

Speed, in his Chronicle, which was published in 1611, and might have appeared early enough in that year to have fallen into our author's hands while he was writing this play, relates the same fact thus : “ A deepe jealousie possessing the king that his [Edwin's] title was too neere the crowne, he caused him to be put into a little pinnace, without either *tackle* or oars, one only page accompanying him, that his death might be imputed to the waves,” &c. MALONE.

³ — HAD quit it :] Old copy—*have* quit it. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

To cry to the sea that roar'd to us ⁴; to sigh
To the winds, whose pity, sighing back again,
Did us but loving wrong.

MIRA. Alack! what trouble
Was I then to you!

PRO. O! a cherubim
Thou wast, that did preserve me! Thou didst
smile,
Infused with a fortitude from heaven,
When I have deck'd the sea ⁵ with drops full salt;

Quit was used by Shakspeare and his contemporaries for *quitted*.
So, in King Lear:

"—— 'Twas he inform'd against him,
" And *quit* the house on purpose, that their punishment
" Might have the freer course."

So, in King Henry VI. Part I. *lift* for *lifted*:

" He ne'er *lift* up his hand, but conquered." MALONE.

⁴ To CRY to the sea that ROAR'D to us;] This conceit occurs
again in The Winter's Tale:—" How the poor souls *roar'd*, and
the sea *mock'd* them," &c. STEEVENS.

⁵ — DECK'D the sea —] "To deck the sea," if explained, 'to
honour, adorn, or dignify,' is indeed ridiculous, but the original
import of the verb *deck*, is to *cover*; so in some parts they yet say
deck the table. This sense may be borne, but perhaps the poet
wrote *fleck'd*, which I think is still used in rustic language of drops
falling upon water. Dr. Warburton reads *mock'd*; the Oxford
edition *brack'd*. JOHNSON.

Vestegan, p. 61, speaking of beer, says " So the *overdecking* or
covering of beer came to be called *berham*, and afterwards *barme*." This very well supports Dr. Johnson's explanation. The follow-
ing passage in Antony and Cleopatra may countenance the verb
deck in its common acceptation:

"—— do not please sharp fate
" To *grace* it with your sorrows."

What is this but *decking* it with *tears*?

Again, our author's Caliban says, Act III. Sc. II.:

"—— He has brave utensils,
" Which, when he has a house, he'll *deck* withal."

STEEVENS.

To *deck*, I am told, signifies in the North, to *sprinkle*. See
Ray's Dict. of North Country Words, in *verb.* to *deg*, and to *deck*;
and his Dict. of South Country Words, in *verb.* *dag*. The latter

Under my burden groan'd ; which rais'd in me
An undergoing stomach⁶, to bear up
Against what should ensue.

MIRA.

How came we ashore ?

PRO. By Providence divine.

Some food we had, and some fresh water, that
A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,
Out of his charity, (who being then appointed
Master of this design,) did give us⁷ ; with

signifies *dew* upon the grass ;—hence *daggled*. In Cole's Latin Dictionary, 1679, we find,—“*To dag, collutulo, irroro.*”

MALONE.

A correspondent, who signs himself *Eboracensis*, proposes that this contested word should be printed *degg'd*, which, says he, signifies *sprinkled*, and is in daily use in the North of England. When clothes that have been washed are too much dried, it is necessary to moisten them before they can be ironed, which is always done by *sprinkling* ; this operation the maidens universally call *degging*. REED.

⁶ An undergoing STOMACH.] *Stomach* is *stubborn resolution*. So, Horace : “ — *gravem Pelidæ stomachum.*” STEEVENS.

⁷ Some food we had, and some fresh water, that

A noble Neapolitan, Gonzalo,

Out of his charity, (who being then appointed

Master of this design,) did give us ;] Mr. Steevens has suggested, that we might better read—*he* being then appointed ; and so we should certainly now write : but the reading of the old copy is the true one, that mode of phraseology being the idiom of Shakspeare's time. So, in the *Winter's Tale* :

“ — This your son-in-law,

“ And son unto the king, (*whom* heavens directing,)

“ Is troth-plight to your daughter.”

Again, in *Coriolanus* :

“ — waving thy hand,

“ Which, often, thus, *correcting thy stout heart*,

“ Now humble as the ripest mulberry,

“ That will not hold the handling ; or, say to them,” &c.

MALONE.

I have left the passage in question as I found it, though with slender reliance on its integrity.

What Mr. Malone has styled “ the idiom of Shakspeare's time,” can scarce deserve so creditable a distinction. It should be re-

Rich garments, linens, stuffs, and necessities,
Which since have steaded much ; so, of his gentleness,

Knowing I lov'd my books, he furnish'd me,
From my own library, with volumes that
I prize above my dukedom.

MIRA.

'Would I might

But ever see that man !

PRO.

Now I arise⁸ :—

membered that the instances adduced by him in support of his position are not from the early quartos, which he prefers on the score of accuracy, but from the folio 1623, the inaccuracy of which, with equal judgement, he has censured.

The genuine idiom of our language, at its different periods, can only be ascertained by reference to contemporary writers whose works were skilfully revised as they passed through the press, and are therefore unsuspected of corruption. A sufficient number of such books are before us. If they supply examples of phraseology resembling that which Mr. Malone would establish, there is an end of controversy between us : Let, however, the disputed phrases be brought to their test before they are admitted ; for I utterly refuse to accept the jargon of theatres and the mistakes of printers, as the idiom or grammar of the age in which Shakspeare wrote. Every gross departure from literary rules may be countenanced, if we are permitted to draw examples from vitiated pages ; and our readers, as often as they meet with restorations founded on such authorities, may justly exclaim, with Othello,—“ Chaos is come again.” STEEVENS.

⁸ Now I arise :] Why does Prospero *arise*? Or, if he does it to ease himself by change of posture, why need he interrupt his narrative to tell his daughter of it? Perhaps these words belong to Miranda, and we should read :

“ *Mir.* 'Would I might

“ But ever see that man !—Now I arise.

“ *Pro.* Sit still, and hear the last of our sea-sorrow.”

Prospero, in p. 26, had directed his daughter to *sit down*, and learn the whole of this history ; having previously by some magical charm disposed her to fall asleep. He is watching the progress of this charm ; and in the mean time tells her a long story, often asking her whether her attention be still awake. The story being ended (as Miranda supposes) with their coming on shore, and partaking of the conveniences provided for them by the loyal humanity of Gonzalo, she therefore first expresses a wish to see the good old man, and then observes that she may *now arise*, as

Sit still, and hear the last of our sea-sorrow.
 Here in this island we arriv'd; and here
 Have I, thy school-master, made thee more profit
 Than other princes⁹ can, that have more time
 For vainer hours, and tutors not so careful.

MIRA. Heavens thank you for't! And now, I
 pray you, sir,
 (For still 'tis beating in my mind,) your reason
 For raising this sea-storm?

PRO. Know thus far forth.—
 By accident most strange, bountiful fortune,
 Now my dear lady¹, hath mine enemies
 Brought to this shore: and by my prescience
 I find my zenith doth depend upon
 A most auspicious star; whose influence
 If now I court not, but omit², my fortunes
 Will ever after droop.—Here cease more questions;
 Thou art inclin'd to sleep; 'tis a good dulness³,

the story is done. Prospero, surprized that his charm does not yet work, bids her *sit still*; and then enters on fresh matter to amuse the time, telling her (what she knew before) that he had been her tutor, &c. But soon perceiving her drowsiness coming on, he breaks off abruptly, and leaves her *still sitting* to her slumbers.

BLACKSTONE.

As the words—"now I arise"—may signify, "now I *rise* in my narration,"—"now my story *heightens* in its consequence," I have left the passage in question undisturbed. We still say, that the interest of a drama *rises* or declines. STEEVENS.

⁹ — princes —] The first folio reads—princesse. HENLEY.
 Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

¹ Now my dear lady,] i. e. now my auspicious mistress.

STEEVENS.

² I find my zenith doth depend upon
 A most auspicious star; whose influence
 If now I court not, but OMIT, &c.] So, in Julius Cæsar:

"There is a tide in the affairs of man,

"Which taken at the flood, leads on to *fortune*;

"Omitted, all the voyage of their life

"Is bound in shallows and in miseries." MALONE.

³ — 'tis a good dulness,] Dr. Warburton rightly observes, that this sleepiness, which Prospero by his art had brought upon

ARI. To every article.

I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak⁸,
Now in the waist⁹, the deck, in every cabin,
I flam'd amazement: Sometimes, I'd divide,
And burn in many places¹; on the top-mast,

Thus, in Chapman's version of the second book of Homer's *Odyssey*, we have

"—— every due

"*Perform'd to full*:"—— STEEVENS.

⁸ — now on the BEAK,] The beak was a strong pointed body at the head of the ancient galleys; it is used here for the fore-castle, or the boltsprit. JOHNSON.

So in Philemon Holland's translation of the 2d chapter of the 32d book of Pliny's *Natural History*:—"our goodly tall and proud ships, so well armed in the *beake-head* with yron pikes," &c.

STEEVENS.

⁹ Now in the WAIST,] The part between the quarter-deck and the fore-castle. JOHNSON.

¹ — Sometimes, I'd divide,

And burn in many places;] Perhaps our author, when he wrote these lines, remembered the following passage in Hackluyt's *Voyages*, 1598: "I do remember that in the great and boysterous storme of this foule weather, in the night there came upon the toppe of our maine yard and maine-mast a certaine little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards call the *Cuerpo Santo*. This light continued aboard our ship about three houres, *flying from maste to maste, and from top to top; and sometimes it would be in two or three places at once.*"

So also De Loier, speaking of "strange sights happening in the seas," *Treatise of Spectres*, 4to. 1605, p. 67, b: "Sometimes they shall see the fire which the saylors call *Saint Hermcs*, to fly uppon their shippe, and to alight upon the toppe of the mast; and sometimes they shall perceive a wind that stirreth such stormies as will run round about their shippe, and play about it in such sort, as by the hurling and beating of the clowdes will rayse uppe a fire that will burne uppe the yardes, the sayles, and the tacklings of the shippe."

While the English lay at the Bermudas, in their way to Virginia, [that is, in the year 1609 and part of 1610, when they were shipwrecked there] says Harris from the memoirs of Smith, Norwood and Strachie, "there was an extraordinary halo seen, and the thunder and lightning that followed upon it, was such as almost frighted them out of their wits." MALONE.

Burton says, that the Spirits of *fire*, in form of fire-drakes and

The yards and bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,
Then meet, and join : Jove's lightnings, the pre-
cursors

O' the dreadful thunder-claps², more momentary
And sight-out-running were not : The fire, and
cracks

Of sulphurous roaring, the most mighty Neptune
Seem'd to besiege, and make his bold waves trem-
ble,

Yea, his dread trident shake³.

Pro.

My brave spirit !

Who was so firm, so constant, that this coil
Would not infect his reason ?

ARI.

Not a soul

But felt a fever of the mad⁴, and play'd
Some tricks of desperation : All, but mariners,
Plung'd in the foaming brine, and quit the vessel⁵,

blazing stars, " oftentimes sit on ship-masts," &c. *Melanch.*
Part I. § 2, p. 30, edit. 1632. T. WARTON.

² —precursors

O' the dreadful thunder-claps.] So, in King Lear :

" Vant couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts."

STEEVENS.

³ Yea, his dread trident shake.] Lest the metre should ap-
pear defective, it is necessary to apprise the reader, that in War-
wickshire and other midland counties, *shake* is still pronounced
by the common people as if it was written *shaake*, a dissyllable.

FARMER.

The word *shake* is so printed in Golding's version of the 9th
book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, edit. 1575 :

" Hee quak't and *shaak't* and looked pale," &c.

STEEVENS.

⁴ But felt a fever of the mad,] If it be at all necessary to ex-
plain the meaning, it is this : ' Not a soul but felt such a fever as
madmen feel, when the frantic fit is upon them.' STEEVENS.

⁵ —and *quit* the vessel,] *Quit* is, I think, here used for
quitted. See before, p. 36 :

" ————— they prepar'd

" A rotten carcass of a boat, not rigg'd,

" Nor tackle, sail, nor mast ; the very rats

" Instinctively had *quit* it :—" MALONE.

Then all a-fire with me : the king's son, Ferdinand,
 With hair up-staring (then like reeds, not hair,) *Hell is empty,*
 Was the first man that leap'd; cried, *Hell is empty,*
And all the devils are here.

PRO. Why, that's my spirit!
 But was not this nigh shore ?

ARI. Close by, my master.

PRO. But are they, Ariel, safe ?

ARI. Not a hair perish'd;
 On their sustaining⁶ garments not a blemish,
 But fresher than before : and, as thou bad'st me,
 In troops I have dispers'd them 'bout the isle :
 The king's son have I landed by himself ;
 Whom I left cooling of the air with sighs,
 In an odd angle of the isle, and sitting,
 His arms in this sad knot.

PRO. Of the king's ship,
 The mariners, say, how thou hast dispos'd,
 And all the rest o' the fleet ?

ARI. Safely in harbour
 Is the king's ship ; in the deep nook, where once
 Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
 From the still-vex'd Bermoothes⁷, there she's hid :

⁶ —sustaining—] i. e. their garments that bore them up and supported them. Thus, in Chapman's translation of the eleventh Iliad :

"Who fell, and crawled upon the earth with his *sustaining* palmes."

Again, in King Lear, Act IV. Sc. IV.:

"In our *sustaining* corn."

Again, in Hamlet :

"——— Her *clothes* spread wide

"And, mermaid-like, a while they *bore her up*."

Mr. M. Mason, however, observes that "the word *sustaining* in this place does not mean *supporting*, but *enduring* ; and by their *sustaining* garments, Ariel means their garments which *bore*, without being injured, the drenching of the sea." STEEVENS.

⁷ From the still-vex'd BERMOOTHES,] Fletcher, in his Women Pleas'd, says, "The devil should think of purchasing that egg-shell to victual out a witch for the Beermootheres." Smith, in his

The mariners all under hatches stow'd ;
 Whom, with a charm join'd to their suffer'd labour,
 I have left asleep : and for the rest o' the fleet,
 Which I dispers'd, they all have met again ;
 And are upon the Mediterranean flote^s ;
 Bound sadly home for Naples ;

account of these islands, p. 172, says, " that the Bermudas were so fearful to the world, that many called them The Isle of Devils."—p. 174 : " to all seamen no less terrible than an enchanted den of furies." And no wonder, for the clime was extremely subject to storms and hurricanes ; and the islands were surrounded with scattered rocks lying shallowly hid under the surface of the water.

WARBURTON.

The epithet here applied to the Bermudas, will be best understood by those who have seen the chafing of the sea over the rugged rocks by which they are surrounded, and which render access to them so dangerous. It was in our poet's time the current opinion, that Bermudas was inhabited by *monsters*, and *devils*.—Setebos, the god of Caliban's dam, was an American devil, worshipped by the giants of Patagonia. HENLEY.

Again, in Decker's *If this be not a good Play*, the Devil is in it, 1612: " Sir, if you have made me tell a lye, they'll send me on a voyage to the island of Hogs and *Devils*, the *Bermudas*."

STEEVENS.

The opinion that Bermudas was haunted with evil spirits continued so late as the civil wars. In a little piece of Sir John Berkinghead's intitled, *Two Centuries of Paul's Church-yard*, una cum indice expurgatorio, &c. 12mo in page 62, under the title *Cases of Conscience*, is this :

" 34. Whether *Bermudas* and the Parliament-house lie under one planet, seeing both are *haunted with devils*." PERCY.

Bermudas was on this account the cant name for some privileged place, in which the cheats and riotous bullies of Shakespeare's time assembled. So, in *The Devil is an Ass*, by Ben Jonson :

" ——— keeps he still your quarter

" In the *Bermudas*?"

Again, in one of his Epistles :

" Have their *Bermudas*, and their straights i' th' Strand."

Again, in *The Devil is an Ass* :

" ——— I gave my word

" For one that's run away to the *Bermudas*." STEEVENS.

^s — the Mediterranean FLOTE,] *Flote* is wave. Flot, Fr.

STEEVENS.

Supposing that they saw the king's ship wreck'd,
And his great person perish.

Pro. Ariel, thy charge
Exactly is perform'd; but there's more work :
What is the time o' the day⁹?

Ari. Past the mid season.

Pro. At least two glasses : The time 'twixt six
and now,
Must by us both be spent most precious.

Ari. Is there more toil ? Since thou dost give
me pains,
Let me remember thee what thou hast promis'd,
Which is not yet perform'd me.

Pro. How now ? moody ?
What is't thou can'st demand ?

Ari. My liberty.

Pro. Before the time be out ? no more.

Ari. I pray thee
Remember, I have done thee worthy service :
Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings, serv'd¹
Without or grudge, or grumblings : thou didst
promise
To bate me a full year.

Pro. Dost thou forget²

⁹ What is the time o' the day ?] This passage needs not be disturbed, it being common to ask a question, which the next moment enables us to answer : he that thinks it faulty, may easily adjust it thus :

" *Pro.* What is the time o' the day ? Past the mid season ?

" *Ari.* At least two glasses.

" *Pro.* The time 'twixt six and now—." JOHNSON.

Mr. Upton proposes to regulate this passage differently :

" *Ariel.* Past the mid season, at least two glasses.

" *Pro.* The time," &c. MALONE.

¹ Told thee no lies, made no mistakings, serv'd.—] The old copy has—

" Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings, serv'd—."

The repetition of a word will be found a frequent mistake in the ancient editions. RITSON.

² Dost thou forget—] That the character and conduct of

From what a torment I did free thee ?

ARI.

No.

PRO. Thou dost : and think'st it much, to tread
the ooze

Of the salt deep ;

To run upon the sharp wind of the north ;

To do me business in the veins o' the earth,

When it is bak'd with frost.

Prospero may be understood, something must be known of the system of enchantment, which supplied all the marvellous found in the romances of the middle ages. This system seems to be founded on the opinion that the fallen spirits, having different degrees of guilt, had different habitations allotted them at their expulsion, some being confined in hell, "some (as Hooker, who delivers the opinion of our poet's age, expresses it,) dispersed in air, some on earth, some in water, others in caves, dens, or minerals under the earth." Of these, some were more malignant and mischievous than others. The earthy spirits seem to have been thought the most depraved, and the acrial the less vitiated. Thus Prospero observes of Ariel :

"——— Thou wast a spirit too delicate

"To act her *earthly* and abhorr'd commands."

Over these spirits a power might be obtained by certain rites performed or charms learned. This power was called The black Art, or Knowledge of Enchantment. The enchanter being (as king James observes in his *Demonology*) "one who commands the devil, whereas the witch serves him." Those who thought best of this art, the existence of which was, I am afraid, believed very seriously, held that certain sounds and characters had a physical power over spirits, and compelled their agency ; others who condemned the practice, which in reality was surely never practised, were of opinion with more reason, that the power of charms arose *only* from compact, and was no more than the spirits voluntarily allowed them for the seduction of man. The art was held by all, though not equally criminal, yet unlawful, and therefore Casaubon, speaking of one who had commerce with spirits, blames him, though he imagines him one of the best kind, who dealt with them by way of command. Thus Prospero repents of his art in the last scene. The spirits were always considered as in some measure enslaved to the enchanter, at least for a time, and as serving with unwillingness ; therefore Ariel so often begs for liberty ; and Caliban observes, that the spirits serve Prospero with no good will, but hate him rootedly.—Of these trifles enough.

JOHNSON.

ARI. I do not, sir.

PRO. Thou liest, malignant thing! Hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax³, who, with age, and envy,
Was grown into a hoop? hast thou forgot her?

ARI. No, sir.

PRO. Thou hast: Where was she born?
 speak; tell me.

ARI. Sir, in Argier⁴.

PRO. O, was she so? I must,
Once in a month, recount what thou hast been,
Which thou forget'st. This damn'd witch, Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou know'st, was banish'd; for one thing she did,
They would not take her life⁵: Is not this true?

ARI. Ay, sir.

PRO. This blue-ey'd hag was hither brought
 with child,
And here was left by the sailors: Thou, my slave,
As thou report'st thyself, wast then her servant:
And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorr'd commands,

³ The foul witch Sycorax,] This idea might have been caught from Dionyse Settle's *Reporte of the Last Voyage of Capteine Frobisher*, 12mo. bl. l. 1577. He is speaking of a woman found on one of the islands described. "The old wretch, whome diuers of ovr Saylers supposed to be a Diuell, or a *Witche*, plucked off her buskins, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hewe and deformitie we let her goe." STEEVENS.

⁴ — in ARGIER.] *Argier* is the ancient English name for *Algiers*. See a pamphlet entitled, *A true Relation of the Travailes, &c. of William Davies, Barber-surgeon, &c.* 1614. In this is a chapter "on the description, &c. of *Argier*." STEEVENS.

⁵ — for one thing she did,

They would not take her life:] What that one thing was which saved the life of Sycorax, the poet has nowhere informed us. I cannot but think that this adds support to the opinion that there was some novel upon which the fable of *The Tempest* was founded, in which this circumstance was mentioned, to which Shakspeare thought it sufficient to refer. BOSWELL.

Perhaps he only means they would not execute her because she was with child.

Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
 By help of her more potent ministers,
 And in her most unmitigable rage,
 Into a cloven pine ; within which rift
 Imprison'd, thou did'st painfully remain
 A dozen years ; within which space she died,
 And left thee there ; where thou did'st vent thy
 groans,
 As fast as mill-wheels strike : Then was this island,
 (Save for the son that she did litter here,
 A freckled whelp, hag-born,) not honour'd with
 A human shape.

ARI. Yes ; Caliban her son.

PRO. Dull thing, I say so ; he, that Caliban,
 Whom now I keep in service. Thou best know'st
 What torment I did find thee in : thy groans
 Did make wolves howl, and penetrate the breasts
 Of ever-angry bears ; it was a torment
 To lay upon the damn'd, which Sycorax
 Could not again undo ; it was mine art,
 When I arriv'd, and heard thee, that made gape
 The pine, and let thee out.

ARI. I thank thee, master.

PRO. If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an
 oak,
 And peg thee in his knotty entrails, till
 Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.

ARI. Pardon, master :
 I will be correspondent to command,
 And do my springing gently.

PRO. Do so ; and after two days
 I will discharge thee.

ARI. That's my noble master !
 What shall I do ? say what ? what shall I do ?

PRO. Go make thyself like a nymph o' the sea⁵ ;
 be subject

⁵ — to a nymph o' the sea ;] There does not appear to be
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To no sight but thine and mine ; invisible
 To every eye-ball else ⁶. Go, take this shape,
 And hither come in't : go, hence, with diligence ⁷.
[Exit ARIEL.]

Awake, dear heart, awake ! thou hast slept well ;
 Awake !

MIRA. The strangeness ⁸ of your story put
 Heaviness in me.

sufficient cause why Ariel should assume this new shape, as he was to be invisible to all eyes but those of Prospero. STEEVENS.

⁶ Be subject to no sight but MINE ; invisible

To every eye-ball else.] The old copy reads—

“ Be subject to no sight but *thine and* mine ; invisible,” &c.

But redundancy in the first line, and the ridiculous precaution that Ariel should not be *invisible to himself*, plainly prove that the words—and *thine*, were the interpolations of ignorance.

STEEVENS.

“ Go make thyself like a nymph o' the sea : be subject

“ To no sight but thine and mine ; invisible, &c.” The words —“ be subject ”—having been transferred in the first copy of this play to the latter of these lines, by the carelessness of the transcriber or printer, the editor of the second folio, to supply the metre of the former line, introduced the word *to* ;—reading, “ like *to* a nymph o' the sea.” The regulation that I have made, shows that the addition, like many others made by that editor, was unnecessary.

If Ariel looked in that glass which made Narcissus enamoured of himself, his own image would be reflected, unless we were to read with Steevens and the second folio ; for then he would be visible only to Prospero, and invisible to himself. MALONE.

My arrangement of this passage admits the word *to*, which, I think, was judiciously restored by the editor of the second folio.

STEEVENS.

Mr. Steevens's arrangement is as follows :

“ Go make thyself like to a nymph o' the sea ;

“ Be subject to no sight but mine ; invisible,” &c.

BOSWELL.

⁷ And hither come in't : hence, with diligence.] The old copy reads—

“ And hither come in't : *go*, hence, with diligence.”

The transcriber or compositor had caught the word *go* from the preceding line. RITSON.

⁸ The strangeness —] Why should a wonderful story produce sleep ? I believe experience will prove, that any violent agitation

PRO. Shake it off: Come on;
We'll visit Caliban, my slave, who never
Yields us kind answer.

MIRA. 'Tis a villain, sir,
I do not love to look on.

PRO. But, as 'tis,
We cannot miss him⁹: he does make our fire,
Fetch in our wood; and serves in offices
That profit us. What ho! slave! Caliban!
Thou earth, thou! speak.

CAL. [*Within.*] There's wood enough within.

PRO. Come forth, I say; there's other business
for thee:

Come, thou tortoise! when¹?

of the mind easily subsides in slumber, especially when, as in Prospero's relation, the last images are pleasing. JOHNSON.

The poet seems to have been apprehensive that the audience, as well as Miranda, would sleep over this long but necessary tale, and therefore strives to break it. First, by making Prospero divest himself of his magic robe and wand: then by waking her attention no less than six times by verbal interruption: then by varying the action when he rises and bids her continue sitting: and lastly, by carrying on the business of the fable while Miranda sleeps, by which she is continued on the stage till the poet has occasion for her again. WARNER.

⁹ We cannot miss him:] That is, we cannot do without him.

M. MASON.

This provincial expression is still used in the midland counties.

MALONE.

¹ Come, thou tortoise! WHEN?] This expression of impatience occurs often in our old dramas. So, in *Julius Cæsar*, vol. xii. p. 34:

"When, Lucius, when?" MALONE.

It is found also in the extracts from Middleton's *Witch*, vol. xi. p. 293:

"Give me marmaratin; some beare-breech: when?"

BOSWELL.

This interrogation, indicative of impatience in the highest degree, occurs also in *King Richard II.* Act I. Sc. I.: "*When, Harry?*" See note on this passage.

In Prospero's summons to Caliban, however, as it stands in the old copy, the word *forth* (which I have repeated for the sake of metre) [*come forth*] is wanting. STEEVENS.

Re-enter ARIEL, like a water-nymph.

Fine apparition! My quaint Ariel,
Hark in thine ear.

ARI. My lord, it shall be done. [*Exit.*

PRO. Thou poisonous slave, got by the devil
himself

Upon thy wicked dam, come forth!

Enter CALIBAN.

CAL. As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd
With raven's feather from unwholesome fen,
Drop on you both ²! a south-west blow on ye,
And blister you all o'er!

² *Cal.* As wicked dew as e'er my mother brush'd

With raven's feather from unwholesome fen,

Drop on you both!]
It was a tradition, it seems, that Lord Falkland, Lord C. J. Vaughan, and Mr. Selden, concurred in observing, that Shakspeare had not only found out a new character in his Caliban, but had also devised and adapted a *new manner of language* for that character. What they meant by it, without doubt, was, that Shakspeare gave his language a certain grotesque air of the savage and antique; which it certainly has. But Dr. Bentley took this, *of a new language*, literally; for, speaking of a phrase in Milton, which he supposed altogether absurd and unmeaning, he says, "Satan had not the privilege, as Caliban in Shakspeare, to use new phrase and diction unknown to all others"—and again—"to practise distances is still a Caliban style." Note on Milton's *Paradise Lost*, l. iv. v. 945. But I know of no such *Caliban style* in Shakspeare, that hath new phrase and diction unknown to all others. *WARBURTON.*

Whence these critics derived the notion of a new language appropriated to Caliban, I cannot find: they certainly mistook brutality of sentiment for uncouthness of words. Caliban had learned to speak of Prospero and his daughter; he had no names for the sun and moon before their arrival; and could not have invented a language of his own, without more understanding than Shakspeare has thought it proper to bestow upon him. His diction is indeed somewhat clouded by the gloominess of his temper, and the malignity of his purposes; but let any other being entertain the same thoughts, and he will find them easily issue in the same expressions.

JOHNSON.

Pro. For this, be sure, to-night thou shalt have
cramps,
Side-stitches that shall pen thy breath up; urchins³
Shall, for that vast of night that they may work⁴,

"As *wicked* dew—" *Wicked*; having baneful qualities. So Spenser says, *wicked weed*; so, in opposition, we say herbs or medicines have *virtues*. Bacon mentions *virtuous bezoar*, and Dryden *virtuous herbs*. JOHNSON.

So, in the Book of Haukyng, &c. bl. l. no date: "If a *wycked* fellon be swollen in such a manner that a man may hele it, the hauke shall not dye." Under King Henry VI. the parliament petitioned against hops, as a *wicked weed*. See Fuller's Worthies: Essex. STEEVENS.

³ — urchins —] i. e. hedgehogs.

Urchins are enumerated by Reginald Scott among other terrific beings. So, in Chapman's May Day, 1611:

"—— to fold thyself up like an *urchin*."

Again, in Selimus Emperor of the Turks, 1584:

"What, are the *urchins* crept out of their dens,

"Under the conduct of this porcupine!"

Urchins are perhaps here put for *fairies*. Milton in his Masque speaks of "*urchin* blasts," and we still call any little dwarfish child, an *urchin*. The word occurs again in the next act. The *echinus*, or *sea hedge-hog*, is still denominated the *urchin*. STEEVENS.

In The Merry Wives of Windsor, we have "*urchins*, ouphes, and fairies;" and a passage to which Mr. Steevens alludes, inclines me to think, that *urchins* here signifies beings of the fairy kind:

"His *spirits* hear me,

"And yet I needs must curse; but they'll nor *pinch*,

"Fright me with *urchin-shews*, pitch me i' the mire," &c.

MALONE.

In support of Mr. Steevens's note, which does not appear satisfactory to Mr. Malone, take the following proofs from Hormanni *Vulgaria*, 4to. 1515, p. 109:—" *Urchyns* or *Hedgehoggis*, full of sharpe pryckillys, whan they know that they be hunted, make them rounde lyke a balle." Again, "*Porpyus* have longer pryckels than *urchyns*." DOUCE.

⁴ — for that VAST OF NIGHT that they may work,] The *vast of night* means the night which is naturally empty and deserted, without action; or when all things lying in sleep and silence, makes the world appear one great uninhabited waste. So, in Hamlet:

"In the dead *waste* and middle of the night."

It has a meaning like that of *nox vasta*.

All exercise on thee : thou shalt be pinch'd
As thick as honey-combs, each pinch more stinging
Than bees that made them.

CAL. I must eat my dinner.
This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,
Which thou tak'st from me. When thou camest¹
first⁵,
Thou strok'dst me, and mad'st much of me ; would'st
give me
Water with berries in't ; and teach me how
To name the bigger light, and how the less,
That burn by day and night : and then I lov'd thee,
And shew'd thee all the qualities o' the isle,
The fresh springs, brine pits, barren place, and fer-
tile ;
Cursed² be I that did so !—All the charms
Of Sycorax, toads, beetles, bats, light on you !

* First folio, *cam'st*.

† First folio, *curst*.

Perhaps, however, it may be used with a signification somewhat different, in Pericles Prince of Tyre, 1609 :

"Thou God of this great *vast*, rebuke the surges."

Vastum is likewise the ancient law term for waste, uncultivated land ; and, with this meaning, *vast* is used by Chapman in his *Shadow of Night*, 1694 :

"—— When unlightsome, *vast*, and indigest,

"The formeless matter of this world did lye."

It should be remembered, that, in the pneumatology of former ages, these particulars were settled with the most minute exactness, and the different kinds of visionary beings had different allotments of time suitable to the variety or consequence of their employments. During these spaces, they were at liberty to act, but were always obliged to leave off at a certain hour, that they might not interfere in that portion of night which belonged to others. Among these, we may suppose *urchins* to have had a part subjected to their dominion. To this limitation of time Shakspeare alludes again in *K. Lear* :—"He begins at curfew, and walks till the second cock." STEEVENS.

⁵ Which thou tak'st from me. When thou CAMEST first,] We might read—

"Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st *here* first—."

RITSON.

For I am all the subjects that you have,
Which first was mine own king : and here you sty
me

In this hard rock, whiles you do keep from me
The rest of the island.

Pro. Thou most lying slave,
Whom stripes may move, not kindness : I have us'd
thee,
Filth as thou art, with human care ; and lodg'd
thee

In mine own cell, till thou didst seek to violate
The honour of my child.

Cal. O ho, O ho⁶ !—'would it had been done !
Thou didst prevent me ; I had peopled else
This isle with Calibans.

Pro. Abhorred slave⁷ ;
Which any print of goodness will not take,
Being capable of all ill⁸ ! I pitied thee,

⁶ O ho, O ho !] This savage exclamation was originally and constantly appropriated by the writers of our ancient Mysteries and Moralities, to the Devil ; and has, in this instance, been transferred to his descendant Caliban. STEEVENS.

So, in the verses attributed to Shakspeare :

" O ho ! quoth the devil, 'tis my John a Combe."

But Shakspeare was led to put this ejaculation in the mouth of his savage, by the following passage : " They [the savages] seemed all very civill and very merry, shewing tokens of much thankfulness for those things we gave them, which they expresse in their language by these words—*oh, ho !* often repeated."

Abstract of James Rosier's Account of Captain Weymouth's Voyage. Purchas. IV. 1661.

MALONE.

⁷ Abhorred slave ;] This speech, which the old copy gives to Miranda, is very judiciously bestowed by Theobald on Prospero.

JOHNSON.

Mr. Theobald found, or might have found, [as Warhurton has observed] this speech transferred to Prospero in the alteration of this play by Dryden and Davenant. MALONE.

⁸ Which any print of goodness will not take,

Being capable of all ill !] So, in Harrington's translation of Orlando Furioso, 1591 :

Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each
hour

One thing or other : when thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning⁹, but would'st gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes
With words that made them known : But thy vile
race¹,

Though thou didst learn, had that in't which good
natures

Could not abide to be with ; therefore wast thou
Deservedly confin'd into this rock,
Who hadst deserv'd more than a prison.

CAL. You taught me language ; and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse : The red plague rid you²,
For learning me your language !

“ The cruel Esselyno, that was thought

“ To have been gotten by some wicked devil,

“ *That never any goodness had been taught,*

“ But sold his soule to sin and doing evil.” MALONE.

⁹ — when thou didst not, savage,

Know thine own meaning.] By this expression, however defective, the poet seems to have meant—“ When thou didst utter sounds to which thou hadst no determinate meaning : ” but the following expression of Mr. Addison, in his 389th Spectator, concerning the Hottentots, may prove the best comment on this passage : “ — having no language among them but a confused gabble, which is *neither well understood by themselves, or others.*”

STEEVENS.

¹ — But thy VILE RACE,] The old copy has *vild*, but it is only the ancient mode of spelling *vile*. *Race*, in this place, seems to signify original disposition, inborn qualities. In this sense we still say—“ The race of wine.” Thus, in Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts* :

“ There came, not six days since, from Hull, a pipe

“ Of rich canary——.

“ Is it of the right *race* ? ”

and Sir W. Temple has somewhere applied it to works of literature. STEEVENS.

Race and raciness in wine, signifies a kind of *tartness*.

BLACKSTONE.

² — the RED plague rid you,] I suppose from the redness of the body, universally inflamed. JOHNSON.

PRO. Hag-seed, hence!
Fetch us in fuel; and be quick, thou wert best,
To answer other business. Shrug'st thou, malice?
If thou neglect'st, or dost unwillingly
What I command, I'll rack thee with old cramps;
Fill all thy bones with aches³; make thee roar,
That beasts shall tremble at thy din.

The *erysipelas* was anciently called the *red plague*. STEEVENS.
So again, in *Coriolanus*:

"Now the *red pestilence* strike all trades in Rome!"

The word *rid*, which has not been explained, means to *destroy*.
So, in *King Henry VI. Part II.*:

"— If you ever chance to have a child,

"Look, in his youth, to have him so cut off,

"As, deathsmen! you have *rid* this sweet young prince."

MALONE.

³ Fill all thy bones with aches: make thee roar,] The word *aches* is evidently a dissyllable. This would not have required a note but for the ignorant clamour that was raised against Mr. Kemble, because he understood Shakspeare better than the newspaper criticks who censured him, and did not at once violate the measure, and act contrary to the uniform practice of the poet, his contemporaries, and those who preceded and followed him till about the middle of the last century, by pronouncing it as a monosyllable. In *Timon of Athens* the word twice occurs. See vol. xiii. p. 268:

"*Aches* contract and starve your supple joints."

Again, p. 423:

"Their fears of hostile strokes, their *aches* losses."

In Barret's *Alvearie*, 1580, the verb is spelt with a *k*, *ake*, and the substantive *ache*, to mark the distinction: and that the latter was pronounced in the same way as the letter *h*, is placed beyond a doubt by a passage in *Much Ado About Nothing*, vol. vii. p. 99, where a joke is founded upon it, which is illustrated by an epigram from old Heywood. Taylor, the water-poet, at a much later period, is equally facetious in his *World runs on Wheels*: "Every cart-horse doth know the letter G very understandingly: and I bath he in his bones." Sandys, one of the most harmonious of our poets, has this line in his *Paraphrase upon Job*:

"Stretch out thy hand, with *aches* pierce his bones."

And not to trouble the reader with more instances, which I could easily produce, Swift has the same pronunciation in his *City Shower*:

"Old *aches* throb, your hollow tooth will rage."

CAL. No, 'pray thee!—
I must obey : his art is of such power, [*Aside.*
It would control my dam's god, Setebos³,
And make a vassal of him.

PRO. So, slave ; hence !
[*Exit CALIBAN.*

*Re-enter ARIEL invisible⁴, playing and singing ;
FERDINAND following him.*

ARIEL'S Song.

*Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands :
Court'sied when you have, and kiss'd,
(The wild waves whist⁵.)*

which his modern editors have altered to " old aches *will* throb ;" and I have even seen the line thus printed in some of the republications of Johnson's Dictionary, although he has quoted it for the express purpose of showing that *aches* was sometimes a dissyllable.

BOSWELL.

³ — my dam's god, SETEBOS,] A gentleman of great merit, Mr. Warner, has observed on the authority of John Barbot, that " the *Patagons* are reported to dread a great horned devil, called *Setebos*."—It may be asked, however, how Shakspeare knew any thing of this, as Barbot was a voyager of the present century?—Perhaps he had read Eden's History of Travayle, 1577, who tells us, p. 434, that " the *giantes*, when they found themselves fettered, roared like bulls, and cried upon *Setebos* to help them."—The *metathesis* in *Caliban* from *Canibal* is evident. FARMER.

We learn from Magellan's voyage, that *Setebos* was the supreme god of the Patagons, and Cheleule was an inferior one. TOLLET.
Setebos is also mentioned in Hackluyt's Voyages, 1598.

MALONE.

⁴ *Re-enter Ariel* INVISIBLE,] In the wardrobe of the Lord Admiral's men, (i. e. company of comedians,) 1598, was—"a robe for to goo *invisibell*." See the MS. from Dulwich college, quoted by Mr. Malone, vol. iii. STEEVENS.

⁵ *Court'sied when you have, and* KISS'D,] As was anciently done at the beginning of some dances. So, in King Henry VIII. that prince says to Anna Bullen—

" I were unmannerly to take you out,

" And not to *kiss you*." STEEVENS.

*Foot it featly here and there ;
And, sweet sprites, the burden bear °.*

Hark, hark !

BUR. Bowgh, wowgh. [dispersedly.

The watch-dogs bark :

BUR. Bowgh, wowgh. [dispersedly.

Hark, hark ! I hear

The strain of strutting chanticlere

Cry, Cock-a-doodle-doo.

FER. Where should this musick be ? i' the air,
or the earth ?

It sounds no more :—and sure, it waits upon
Some god of the island. Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the king my father's wreck ⁷,

“ (*The wild waves WHIST ;*)” i. e. the wild waves being *silent*.
So, in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, b. vii. c. 7, f. 59 :

“ So was the Titaness put down, and *whist*.”

And Milton seems to have had our author in his eye. See
stanza 5, of his *Hymn on the Nativity* :

“ The winds with wonder *whist*,

“ Smoothly the waters *kiss'd*.”

So again, both Lord Surrey and Phaer, in their translations of
the second book of Virgil :

— Conticuere omnes.

“ They *whisted* all.”

and Lyly, in his *Maid's Metamorphosis*, 1600 :

“ But every thing is quiet, *whist*, and still.” STEEVENS.

⁶ — *the burden bear*.] Old copy—“ bear the burden.” Cor-
rected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

⁷ Weeping AGAIN the king my father's wreck,] Thus the old
copy ; but in the books of Shakspeare's age *again* is sometimes
printed instead of *against*, [i. e. opposite to,] which I am per-
suaded was our author's word. *Agēn*, A. S. signifies both *adversus*
and *iterum*. In Julius Cæsar we find *against* used in the first of
these senses :

“ *Against* the capitol I met a lion—.”

Lydgate in his *Troie Boke*, describing Priam's Palace, uses
again in the sense of *against* :

“ And even *agayne* this kynges royal see,

“ In the partye that was thereto contrayre.

“ Yraysed was by many crafty stayre

“ In brede and length a full rich aultere.”

This musick crept by me upon the waters⁸ ;
 Allaying both their fury, and my passion,
 With its sweet air : thence I have follow'd it,
 Or it hath drawn me rather :—But 'tis gone.
 No, it begins again.

ARIEL sings.

*Full fathom five thy father lies⁹ ;
 Of his bones are coral made ;
 Those are pearls that were his eyes :
 Nothing of him that doth fade¹,*

The placing Ferdinand in such a situation that he could still gaze upon the wrecked vessel, is one of Shakspeare's touches of nature. *Again*, in its ordinary sense, is inadmissible ; for this would import that Ferdinand's tears had ceased for a time ; whereas he himself tells us, afterwards, that from the hour of his father's wreck they had *never* ceased to flow :

“ — Myself am Naples,

“ Who with mine eyes, *ne'er since at ebb*, beheld

“ The king my father wreck'd.”

However, as our author sometimes forgot to compare the different parts of his play, I have made no change. MALONE.

By the word—*again*, I suppose the Prince means only to describe the *repetition* of his sorrows. Besides, it appears from Miranda's description of the storm, that the ship had been *swallowed* by the waves, and, consequently, could no longer be an object of sight. STEEVENS.

Miranda supposed that this was the case ; but we learn from Ariel that it was not so. See p. 44 :

“ *Pro.* ——— Of the king's ship,

“ The mariners, say how hast thou disposed,

“ And all the rest o' the fleet.

“ *Ari.* ——— Safely in harbour

“ Is the king's ship,” &c. MALONE.

⁸ This musick CREPT by me upon the waters ;] So, in Milton's *Masque* :

“ — a soft and solemn breathing sound

“ Rose like a steam of rich distill'd perfumes,

“ And stole upon the air.” STEEVENS.

⁹ *Full fathom five thy father lies* ; &c.] Ariel's lays, [which have been condemned by Gildon as trifling, and defended not very successfully by Dr. Warburton,] however seasonable and efficacious, must be allowed to be of no supernatural dignity or ele-

*But doth suffer a sea-change²
 Into something rich and strange.
 Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell :
 [Burden, ding-dong³.
 Hark ! now I hear them,—ding-dong, bell⁴.*

FER. The ditty does remember my drown'd father :—

This is no mortal business, nor no sound
 That the earth owes⁵ :—I hear it now above me.

gance ; they express nothing great, nor reveal any thing above mortal discovery.

The reason for which Ariel is introduced thus trifling is, that he and his companions are evidently of the fairy kind, an order of beings to which tradition has always ascribed a sort of diminutive agency, powerful but ludicrous, a humorous and frolick controlment of nature, well expressed by the songs of Ariel. JOHNSON.

The songs in this play, Dr. Wilson, who reset and published two of them, tells us, in his *Court Ayres, or Ballads*, published at Oxford, 1660, that "*Full fathom five*," and "*Where the bee sucks*," had been first set by Robert Johnson, a composer contemporary with Shakspeare. BURNEY.

¹ *Nothing of him that doth fade,*

But doth suffer a sea-change—] The meaning is—Every thing about him, that is liable to alteration, is changed.

STEEVENS.

² *But doth suffer a sea-change*—] So, in Milton's *Masque* :

"And underwent a quick immortal change." STEEVENS.

³ BURDEN, ding-dong,] It should be—

"Ding-dong, ding-dong, ding-dong bell." FARMER.

⁴ *Sea-nymphs hourly ring his knell :*

Hark ! now I hear them,—DING-DONG, bell.

Burden, DING-DONG.]

So, in *The Golden Garland of Princely Delight*, &c. 13th edition, 1690 :

"Corydon's doleful knell to the tune of *Ding, dong*."

"I must go seek a new love,

"Yet will I ring her knell,

"*Ding, dong*."

The same burthen to a song occurs in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act III. Sc. II. STEEVENS.

⁵ That the earth OWES:] *To owe*, in this place, as well as many others, signifies *to own*. So, in *Othello* :

PRO. The fringed curtains⁶ of thine eye advance
And say, what thou seest yond'.

MIRA. What is't? a spirit?
Lord, how it looks about! Believe me, sir,
It carries a brave form:—But 'tis a spirit.

PRO. No, wench; it eats and sleeps, and hath
such senses
As we have, such: This gallant, which thou seest,
Was in the wreck; and but he's something stain'd
With grief, that's beauty's canker, thou might'st
call him

A goodly person: he hath lost his fellows,
And strays about to find them.

MIRA. I might call him
A thing divine; for nothing natural
I ever saw so noble.

PRO. It goes on⁷, I see [*Aside.*
As my soul prompts it:—Spirit, fine spirit! I'll free
thee

Within two days for this.

FER. Most sure, the goddess

“ ——— that sweet sleep
“ Which thou *ow'dst* yesterday.”

Again, in *The Tempest*:

“ ——— thou dost here usurp
“ The name thou *ow'st* not.”

To use the word in this sense is not peculiar to Shakspeare.
I meet with it in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush*:

“ If now the beard be such, what is the prince
“ That *owes* the beard?” STEEVENS.

⁶ The FRINGED CURTAINS, &c.] The same expression occurs
in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, 1609:

“ ——— her *eyelids*

“ Begin to part their *fringes* of bright gold.”

Again, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, lib. i.: “ Sometimes my eyes
would lay themselves open—or cast my lids, as *curtains*, over the
image of beauty her presence had painted in them.” STEEVENS.

⁷ It goes on,] The old copy reads—“ It goes on, *I see*,” &c.
But as the words *I see* are useless, and an incumbrance to the
metre, I have omitted them. STEEVENS.

On whom these airs attend⁸!—Vouchsafe, my
prayer

May know, if you remain upon this island ;
And that you will some good instruction give,
How I may bear me here : My prime request,
Which I do last pronounce, is, O you wonder !
If you be made, or no ?

MIRA.

No wonder, sir ;

But, certainly a maid⁹.

⁸ Most sure, &c.] It seems, that Shakspeare, in *The Tempest*, hath been suspected of translating some expressions of Virgil ; witness the *O Dea certe*. I presume we are here directed to the passage, where Ferdinand says of Miranda, after hearing the songs of Ariel :

“ Most sure, the goddess

“ On whom these airs attend !—”

And so *very small Latin* is sufficient for this formidable translation, that, if it be thought any honour to our poet, I am loth to deprive him of it ; but his honour is not built on such a sandy foundation. Let us turn to a *real translator*, and examine whether the idea might not be fully comprehended by an English reader, supposing it necessarily borrowed from Virgil. *Hexameters* in our language are almost forgotten ; we will quote therefore this time from Stanyhurst :

“ O to thee, fayre virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted ?

“ Thy tongue, thy visage no mortal frayltie resembleth.

“ ——— No doubt, a goddesse !” Edit. 1583. FARMER.

⁹ — certainly a maid.] Nothing could be more prettily imagined to illustrate the singularity of her character, than this pleasant mistake. She had been bred up in the rough and plain-dealing documents of moral philosophy, which teaches us the knowledge of ourselves ; and was an utter stranger to the flattery invented by vicious and designing men to corrupt the other sex. So that it could not enter into her imagination, that complaisance, and a desire of appearing amiable, qualities of humanity which she had been instructed, in her moral lessons, to cultivate, could ever degenerate into such excess, as that any one should be willing to have his fellow-creature believe that he thought her a goddess, or an immortal. WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton has here found a beauty which I think the author never intended. Ferdinand asks her not whether she was a *created being*, a question which, if he meant it, he has ill expressed, but whether she was unmarried ; for after the dialogue which

FER. My language ! heavens !—
I am the best of them that speak this speech,
Were I but where 'tis spoken.

Prospero's interruption produces, he goes on pursuing his former question :

“ O if a virgin,

“ I'll make you queen of Naples.” *JOHNSON.*

A passage in Lyly's *Galathea* seems to countenance the present text : “ The question among men is common, *are you a maide ?* ”—yet I cannot but think, that Dr. Warburton reads very rightly : “ If you be *made*, or no.” When we meet with a harsh expression in Shakspeare, we are usually to look for a *play upon words*. Fletcher closely imitates *The Tempest* in his *Sea Voyage* : and he introduces Albert in the same manner to the ladies of *his Desert Island* :

“ Be not offended, goddesses, that I fall

“ Thus prostrate,” &c.

Shakspeare himself had certainly read, and had probably now in his mind, a passage in the third book of *The Fairy Queen*, between Timias and Belphebe :

“ *Angel or goddess !* do I call thee *right* ?

“ There—at she blushing, said, ah ! gentle squire,

“ Nor *goddess* I, nor *angel*, but the *maid*

“ And *daughter* of a woody nymph,” &c. *FARMER.*

So, Milton, *Comus*, 265 :

“ ——— Hail, foreign wonder !

“ Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,

“ Unless the Goddess,” &c.

Milton's imitation explains Shakspeare. *Maid* is certainly a *created being*, a woman in opposition to goddess. Miranda immediately destroys this first sense by a quibble. In the mean time, I have no objection to read *made*, i. e. *created*. The force of the sentiment is the same. *Comus* is universally allowed to have taken some of its tints from *The Tempest*. *T. WARTON.*

The first copy reads—if you be *maid*, or no. *Made* was not suggested by Dr. Warburton, being an emendation introduced by the editor of the fourth folio. It was, I am persuaded, the author's word : There being no article prefixed adds strength to this supposition. Nothing is more common in his plays than a word being used in reply, in a sense different from that in which it was employed by the first speaker. Ferdinand had the moment before called Miranda a goddess ; and the words immediately subjoined, —“ Vouchsafe my prayer”—show that he looked up to her as a person of a superior order, and sought her protection and instruction for his conduct, not her love. At *this* period, there-

Pro. How ! the best ?
What wert thou, if the king of Naples heard thee ?

fore, he must have felt too much awe to have flattered himself with the hope of possessing a being that appeared to him celestial ; though afterwards, emboldened by what Miranda says, he exclaims, " O, if a virgin," &c. words that appear inconsistent with the supposition that he had already asked her whether she was one or not. She had indeed told him, she was ; but in his astonishment at hearing her speak his own language, he may well be supposed to have forgotten what she said ; which, if he had himself made the inquiry, would not be very reasonable to suppose.

It appears from the alteration of this play by Dryden and Sir W. D'Avenant, that they considered the present passage in this light :

" — Fair excellence,
" If, as your form declares, you are divine,
" Be pleas'd to instruct me, how you will be worship'd ;
" So bright a beauty cannot sure belong
" To human kind."

In a subsequent scene we have again the same inquiry :

" *Alon.* Is she the goddess that hath sever'd us,
" And brought us thus together ?"
" *Fer.* Sir, she's mortal."

Our author might have remembered Lodge's description of Fawnia, the Perdita of his *Winter's Tale* : " Yet he scarce knew her, for she had attired herself in rich apparel, which so increased her beauty, that she resembled rather an *angel* than a *creature*." *Dorastus and Fawnia*, 1592.

I have said " that nothing is more common in these plays than a word being used in reply in a sense different from that in which it was employed by the first speaker." Here follow my proofs. In *As You Like It*, Orlando, being asked by his brother, " Now sir, what *make* you here ?" [i. e. What do you do here ?] replies, " Nothing ; I am not taught to *make* any thing." So, in *King Henry VI.* Part III. :

" — Henceforward will I hear
" Upon my target three fair shining *suns*.
" *Rich.* Nay, bear three *daughters*."

Again, in *King Henry IV.* Part II. :

" *Ch. Just.* Your means are very slender, and your *waste* great.

" *Fal.* I would it were otherwise ; I would my means were greater, and my *waist* slenderer."

Again, in *King Richard III.* :

" With this, my lord, myself hath *nought* to do.
" *Glou.* *Naught* to do with mistress Shore ?" &c.

MALONE.

FER. A single thing, as I am now, that wonders
To hear thee speak of Naples: He does hear me;
And, that he does, I weep: myself am Naples;
Who with mine eyes, ne'er since at ebb, beheld
The king my father wreck'd.

MIRA. Alack, for mercy!

FER. Yes, faith, and all his lords; the duke of
Milan,
And his brave son, being twain¹.

PRO. The duke of Milan,
And his more braver daughter, could control thee²,
If now 'twere fit to do't:—At the first sight

[*Aside.*

They have chang'd eyes:—Delicate Ariel,
I'll set thee free for this!—A word, good sir;
I fear, you have done yourself some wrong³: a
word.

MIRA. Why speaks my father so ungently? This
Is the third man that e'er I saw; the first
That e'er I sigh'd for: pity move my father
To be inclin'd my way!

FER. O, if a virgin,
And your affection not gone forth, I'll make you
The queen of Naples.

PRO. Soft, sir: one word more.—

The question, (I use the words of Mr. M. Mason,) is “whether our readers will adopt a natural and simple expression which requires no comment, or one which the ingenuity of many commentators has but imperfectly supported. STEEVENS.

¹ And his brave son, being twain.] This is a slight forgetfulness. Nobody was lost in the wreck, yet we find no such character as the son of the duke of Milan. THEOBALD.

² — control thee,] Confute thee, unanswerably contradict thee. JOHNSON.

³ I fear, you have done yourself some wrong:], i. e. I fear that in asserting yourself to be King of Naples, you have uttered a falsehood which is below your character, and, consequently, injurious to your honour. So, in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*—“This is not well, master Ford, this *wrongs you*.” STEEVENS.

They are both in either's powers: but this swift
business

I must uneasy make, lest too light winning [*Aside*.
Make the prize light.—One word more; I charge
thee,

That thou attend me: thou dost here usurp
The name thou ow'st not; and hast put thyself
Upon this island, as a spy, to win it
From me, the lord on't.

FER. No, as I am a man.

MIRA. There's nothing ill can dwell in such a
temple:

If the ill spirit have so fair an house,
Good things will strive to dwell with't.

PRO. Follow me.— [*To FERD.*

Speak not you for him; he's a traitor.—Come.

I'll manacle thy neck and feet together:
Sea-water shalt thou drink, thy food shall be
The fresh-brook muscles, wither'd roots, and husks
Wherein the acorn cradled: Follow.

FER. No;

I will resist such entertainment, till
Mine enemy has more power. [*He draws.*

MIRA. O dear father,

Make not too rash a trial of him, for
He's gentle, and not fearful⁴.

⁴ He's gentle, and not FEARFUL.] *Fearful* signifies both terrible and timorous. In this place it may mean *timorous*. She tells her father, that as he is gentle, rough usage is unnecessary; and as he is brave, it may be dangerous.

Fearful, however, may signify *formidable*, as in *K. Henry IV.*:

"A mighty and a *fearful* head they are:"

and then the meaning of the passage is obvious. STEEVENS.

"He's gentle and not *fearful*," i. e. terrible; producing fear. In our author's age *to fear* signified *to terrify*, (see *Minsheu* in verb.) and *fearful* was much more frequently used in the sense of *formidable* than that of *timorous*. MALONE.

MIRA. Beseech you, father !

PRO. Hence ; hang not on my garments.

MIRA. Sir, have pity ;
I'll be his surety.

PRO. Silence : one word more
Shall make me chide thee, if not hate thee. What !
An advocate for an impostor ? hush !
Thou think'st, there are no more such shapes as
he,

Having seen but him and Caliban : Foolish wench !
To the most of men this is a Caliban,
And they to him are angels.

MIRA. My affections
Are then most humble ; I have no ambition
To see a goodlier man.

PRO. Come on ; obey : [*To FERD.*
Thy nerves are in their infancy again ⁷,
And have no vigour in them.

FER. So they are :
My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up ⁸.
My father's loss, the weakness which I feel,
The wreck of all my friends, or this man's threats,
To whom I am subdued, are but light to me ⁹,
Might I but through my prison once a day

⁷ Thy nerves are in their infancy again,] Perhaps Milton had this passage in his mind, when he wrote the following line in his *Masque at Ludlow Castle* :

“ Thy nerves are all bound up in alabaster.” STEEVENS.

⁸ My spirits, as in a dream, are all bound up.] Alluding to a common sensation in dreams ; when we struggle, but with a total impuissance in our endeavours, to run, strike, &c.

WARBURTON.

⁹ — ARE but light to me,] This passage, as it stands at present, with all allowance for poetical licence, cannot be reconciled to grammar. I suspect that our author wrote—“ were but light to me,” in the sense of—*would be*.—In the preceding line the old copy reads—*nor* this man's threats. The emendation was made by Mr. Steevens. MALONE.

Behold this maid ¹: all corners else o' the earth
 Let liberty make use of; space enough
 Have I in such a prison.

PRO. It works:—Come on.—
 Thou hast done well, fine Ariel!—Follow me.—

[*To FERD. and MIR.*

Hark, what thou else shalt do me. [*To ARIEL,*
MIRA. Be of comfort;

My father's of a better nature, sir,
 Than he appears by speech; this is unwonted,
 Which now came from him.

PRO. Thou shalt be as free
 As mountain winds: but then exactly do
 All points of my command.

ARI. To the syllable.

PRO. Come, follow: speak not for him.

[*Exeunt.*

ACT II. SCENE I.

Another Part of the Island.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO,
ADRIAN, FRANCISCO, and others.

GON. 'Beseech you, sir, be merry: you have
 cause

¹ Might I but through my prison once a day
 Behold this maid:] This thought seems borrowed from the
 Knight's Tale of Chaucer, v. 1230:

“For elles had I dwelt with Theseus

“Yfetered in his prison evermo.

“Than had I ben in blisse, and not in wo.

“Only the sight of hire, whom that I serve,

“Though that I never hire grace may deserve,

“Wold have sufficed right ynough for me.” STEEVENS.

(So have we all) of joy ; for our escape
 Is much beyond our loss : Our hint of woe ²
 Is common : every day, some sailor's wife,
 The masters of some merchant ³, and the mer-
 chant,
 Have just our theme of woe : but for the miracle ⁴,
 I mean our preservation, few in millions
 Can speak like us : then wisely, good sir, weigh
 Our sorrow with our comfort.

ALON.

Pr'ythee, peace.

SEB. He receives comfort like cold porridge.

ANT. The visitor ⁵ will not give him o'er so.

SEB. Look, he's winding up the watch of his wit ;
 by and by it will strike.

² — Our HINT of woe —] *Hint* is that which recalls to the memory. The cause that fills our minds with grief is common. Dr. Warburton reads—*stint* of woe." JOHNSON.

Hint seems to mean circumstance. "A danger from which they had escaped (says Mr. M. Mason) might properly be called a *hint of woe*." STEEVENS.

³ The MASTERS of some merchant, &c.] Thus the old copy. If the passage be not corrupt (as I suspect it is) we must suppose that by *masters* our author means the *owners* of a merchant's ship, or the *officers* to whom the navigation of it had been trusted.

I suppose, however, that our author wrote—

"The *mistress* of some merchant," &c.

Mistress was anciently spelt—*maistresse* or *maistres*. Hence, perhaps, arose the present typographical error. See Merchant of Venice, Act IV. Sc. I. STEEVENS.

Merchant was used for a merchantman. So, Dryden, in his Parallel of Poetry and Painting, "Thus as convoy-ships either accompany or should accompany their *merchants*." Dryden's Prose Works, 1801, vol. iii. p. 306. MALONE.

⁴ Have just our theme OF WOE : but for the miracle,] The words—"of woe," appear to me as an idle interpolation. Three lines before we have "*our hint of woe*—" STEEVENS.

⁵ The VISITOR —] Why Dr. Warburton should change *visitor* to *'viser*, for *adviser*, I cannot discover. Gonzalo gives not only advice but comfort, and is therefore properly called *the visitor*, like others who visit the sick or distressed to give them consolation. In some of the Protestant churches there is a kind of officers termed consolators for the sick. JOHNSON.

GON. Sir,—

SEB. One :——Tell.

GON. When every grief is entertain'd, that's offer'd,

Comes to the entertainer—

SEB. A dollar.

GON. Dolour comes to him, indeed ⁶; you have spoken truer than you purposed.

SEB. You have taken it wiselier than I meant you should.

GON. Therefore, my lord,—

ANT. Fye, what a spendthrift is he of his tongue !

ALON. I pr'ythee, spare.

GON. Well, I have done : But yet—

SEB. He will be talking.

ANT. Which of them, he, or Adrian, for a good wager, first begins to crow ?

SEB. The old cock.

ANT. The cockrel.

SEB. Done : The wager ?

ANT. A laughter.

SEB. A match.

ADR. Though this island seem to be desert,—

SEB. Ha, ha, ha !

ANT. So, you've pay'd ⁷.

⁶ *Gon.* DOLOUR comes to him, indeed ;] The same quibble occurs in The Tragedy of Hoffman, 1637 :

“And his reward be thirteen hundred *dollars*,

“For he hath driven *dolour* from our heart.” STEEVENS.

⁷ — YOU'VE pay'd.] Old copy—*you'r* paid. Corrected by Mr. Steevens. To *pay* sometimes signified—to *beat*, but I have never met with it in a metaphorical sense ; otherwise I should have thought the reading of the folio right: you are *beaten* ; you have *lost*. MALONE.

This passage scarcely deserves explanation ; but the meaning is this :

Antonio lays a wager with Sebastian, that Adrian would crow before Gonzalo, and the wager was a laughter. Adrian speaks first, so Antonio is the winner. Sebastian laughs at what Adrian

ADR. Uninhabitable, and almost inaccessible,—

SEB. Yet,

ADR. Yet—

ANT. He could not miss it.

ADR. It must needs be of subtle, tender, and delicate temperance⁸.

ANT. Temperance was a delicate wench⁹.

SEB. Ay, and a subtle; as he most learnedly delivered.

ADR. The air breathes upon us here most sweetly.

SEB. As if it had lungs, and rotten ones.

ANT. Or, as 'twere perfumed by a fen.

GON. Here is every thing advantageous to life.

ANT. True; save means to live.

SEB. Of that there's none, or little.

GON. How lush¹ and lusty the grass looks? how green?

had said, and Antonio immediately acknowledges that by his laughing he has paid the bet.

The old copy reads—*you'r* paid, which will answer as well, if those words be given to Sebastian instead of Antonio.

M. MASON.

⁸ — and delicate TEMPERANCE.] *Temperance* here means *temperature*. STEEVENS.

⁹ TEMPERANCE was a delicate wench.] In the puritanical times it was usual to christen children from the titles of religious and moral virtues.

So Taylor, the water-poet, in his description of a strumpet:

“Though bad they be, they will not bate an ace,

“To be call'd Prudence, *Temperance*, Faith, or Grace.”

STEEVENS.

¹ How LUSH, &c.] *Lush*, i. e. of a dark full colour, the opposite to *pale* and *faint*. SIR T. HANMER.

The words, *how green?* which immediately follow, might have intimated to Sir T. Hanmer, that *lush* here signifies *rank*, and not a dark full colour. In Arthur Golding's translation of Julius Solinus, printed 1587, a passage occurs, in which the word is explained.—“Shrubbes *lushe* and almost like a grystle.” So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*:

“Quite over-canopied with *lushious* woodbine.” HENLEY.

ANT. The ground, indeed, is tawny.

SEB. With an eye of green in't².

ANT. He misses not much.

SEB. No; he doth but mistake the truth totally.

GON. But the rarity of it is (which is indeed almost beyond credit)—

SEB. As many vouch'd rarities are.

GON. That our garments, being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold, notwithstanding, their freshness, and glosses; being rather new dy'd, than stain'd with salt water.

ANT. If but one of his pockets could speak, would it not say, he lies?

The word *lush* has not yet been rightly interpreted. It appears from the following passage in Golding's translation of Ovid, 1587, to have signified *juicy, succulent*:

"What? seest thou not, how that the year, as representing
plaine

"The age of man, departes himself in quarters foure: first,
baine [i. e. limber, flexible.]

"And tender in the spring it is, even like a sucking babe,

"Then greene and void of strength, and *lush* and *foggy* is the
blade;

"And cheers the husbandman with hope."

Ovid's lines (Met. xv.) are these:

Quid? non in species succedere quattuor annum

Aspicis, ætatis peragentem imitamina nostræ?

Nam tener et lactens, puerique simillimus ævo,

Vere novo est. Tunc *herba recens, et roboris expers,*

Turget, et insolida est, et spe delectat agrestem.

Spenser, in his Shepheard's Calender, (Feb.) applies the epithet *lusty* to green:

"With leaves engrain'd in *lustie green*." MALONE.

² With an eye of green in't.] An *eye* is a small shade of colour:

"Red, with an *eye* of blue, makes a purple." Boyle.

Again, in Fuller's Church History, p. 237, xvii Cent. Book xi.:

"—some cole-black (all *eye* of purple being put out therein)."

Again, in Sandys's Travels, lib. i.: "—cloth of silver tissued with an *eye* of green—." STEEVENS.

Eye was anciently used for a small portion of any thing. So in A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, 1600, p. 44: "Not an *eye* of sturgeon as yet appeared in the river." MALONE.

SEB. Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report.

GON. Methinks, our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Africk, at the marriage of the king's fair daughter Claribel³ to the king of Tunis.

SEB. 'Twas a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return.

ADR. Tunis was never graced before with such a paragon to their queen.

GON. Not since widow Dido's time.

ANT. Widow? a pox o' that! How came that widow in? Widow Dido⁴!

SEB. What if he had said, widower Æneas too? good lord, how you take it!

ADR. Widow Dido, said you? you make me study of that: She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

GON. This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.

ADR. Carthage?

GON. I assure you, Carthage.

ANT. His word is more than the miraculous harp⁵.

SEB. He hath rais'd the wall, and houses too.

ANT. What impossible matter will he make easy next?

SEB. I think he will carry this island home in his pocket, and give it his son for an apple.

ANT. And, sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more islands.

³ — Claribel —] Shakspeare might have found this name in the bl. l. History of George Lord Fauconbridge, a pamphlet that he probably read when he was writing King John. CLARIBEL is there the concubine of King Richard I. and the mother of Lord Falconbridge. MALONE.

⁴ — Widow Dido!] The name of a widow brings to their minds their own shipwreck, which they consider as having made many widows in Naples. JOHNSON.

⁵ — the miraculous harp.] Alluding to the wonders of Amphion's music. STEEVENS.

GON. Ay ?

ANT. Why, in good time.

GON. Sir, we were talking, that our garments seem now as fresh, as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter, who is now queen.

ANT. And the rarest that e'er came there.

SEB. 'Bate, I beseech you, widow Dido.

ANT. O, widow Dido ; ay, widow Dido.

GON. Is not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore it ? I mean, in a sort.

ANT. That sort was well fish'd for.

GON. When I wore it at your daughter's marriage ?

ALON. You cram these words into mine ears, against

The stomach of my sense⁶ : Would I had never Married my daughter there ! for, coming thence, My son is lost ; and, in my rate, she too, Who is so far from Italy remov'd, I ne'er again shall see her. O thou mine heir Of Naples and of Milan, what strange fish Hath made his meal on thee !

FRAN.

Sir, he may live ;

I saw him beat the surges under him,
And ride upon their backs ; he trod the water,
Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted
The surge most swoln that met him : his bold head
'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar'd
Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
To the shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bow'd,
As stooping to relieve him : I not doubt,
He came alive to land.

⁶ The stomach of my SENSE :] By *sense*, I believe, is meant both *reason* and *natural affection*. So, in *Measure for Measure* :

"Against all *sense* do you importune her."

Mr. M. Mason, however, supposes "*sense*, in this place, means *feeling*." STEEVENS.

ALON. No, no, he's gone.

SEB. Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss

That would not bless our Europe with your daughter,

But rather lose her to an African ;

Where she, at least, is banish'd from your eye,

Who hath cause to wet the grief on't.

ALON. Pr'ythee, peace.

SEB. You were kneel'd to, and imp'ortun'd otherwise

By all of us ; and the fair soul herself

Weigh'd, between lothness and obedience, at

Which end o' the beam she'd bow⁷. We have lost your son,

I fear, for ever : Milan and Naples have

More widows in them of this business' making,

Than we bring men to comfort them⁸ : the fault's

Your own.

ALON. So is the dearest of the loss.

⁷ WEIGH'D, between lothness and obedience, at

Which end o' the beam she'd bow,] *Weigh'd* means deliberated. It is used in nearly the same sense in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and in *Hamlet*. The old copy reads—*should* bow. *Should* was probably an abbreviation of *she would*, the mark of elision being inadvertently omitted [sh'ould]. Thus *he has* is frequently exhibited in the first folio—*h'as*. Mr. Pope corrected the passage thus : “ at which end the beam should bow.” But omission of any word in the old copy, without substituting another in its place, is seldom safe, except in those instances where the repeated word appears to have been caught by the compositor's eye glancing on the line above, or below, or where a word is printed twice in the same line. MALONE.

⁸ Than we bring men to comfort them:] It does not clearly appear whether the king and these lords thought the ship lost. This passage seems to imply, that they were themselves confident of returning, but imagined part of the fleet destroyed. Why, indeed, should Sebastian plot against his brother in the following scene, unless he knew how to find the kingdom which he was to inherit? JOHNSON.

GON. My lord Sebastian,
The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,
And time to speak it in : you rub the sore,
When you should bring the plaster.

SEB. Very well.

ANT. And most chirurgeonly.

GON. It is foul weather in us all, good sir,
When you are cloudy.

SEB. Foul weather ?

ANT. Very foul.

GON. Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—

ANT. He'd sow it with nettle-seed.

SEB. Or docks, or mallows.

GON. And were the king of it, What would I do ?

SEB. 'Scape being drunk, for want of wine.

GON. I' the commonwealth I would by contraries

Execute all things : for no kind of traffick
Would I admit ; no name of magistrate ⁹ ;

9 — for NO KIND OF TRAFFICK

Would I admit ; NO NAME OF MAGISTRATE, &c.] Our author has here closely followed a passage in Montaigne's *Essaies*, translated by John Florio, fol. 1603 : " It is a nation (would I answer Plato) that hath no *kind of trafficke*, no *knowledge of letters*, no intelligence of numbers, no *name of magistrate*, nor of *politic superioritie* ; no *use of service*, of *riches*, or of *povertie*, no *contracts*, no *successions*, no *partitions*, no *occupation*, but *idle* ; no respect of kindred but common ; no apparel but natural ; no *use of wine*, *corne*, or *metal* The very words that import lying, falsehood, *treason*, dissimulations, covetousness, envie, detraction and pardon, were never heard amongst them."—This passage was pointed out by Mr. Capell, who knew so little of his author as to suppose that Shakspeare had the original French before him, though he has almost literally followed Florio's translation.

Montaigne is here speaking of a *newly discovered country*, which he calls "Antartick France." In the page preceding that already quoted, are these words : "The other testimonie of antiquitie to which some will refer the *discoverie* is in Aristotle (if at least that little book of unheard-of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certain Carthaginians having sailed athwart the Atlantick sea, without the strait of Gibraltar, discovered a great

Letters should not be known ; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none ; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none ¹ :

fertil island, all replenished with goodly woods, and deepe rivers, farre distant from any land."

Whoever shall take the trouble to turn to the old translation here quoted, will, I think, be of opinion, that in whatsoever novel our author might have found the *fable* of *The Tempest*, he was led by the perusal of this book to make the *scene* of it an unfrequented island. The title of the chapter, which is—"Of the Caniballes,"—evidently furnished him with the name of one of his characters. In his time almost every proper name was twisted into an anagram. Thus,—"*I moyl in law*," was the anagram of the laborious William Noy, Attorney General to Charles I. By inverting this process, and transposing the letters of the word *Canibal*, Shakspeare (as Dr. Farmer long since observed) formed the name of *Caliban*. MALONE.

¹ And use of service, none ; contract, succession,

Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none :] The defective metre of the second of these lines affords a ground for believing that some word was omitted at the press. Many of the defects however in our author's metre have arisen from the words of one line being transferred to another. In the present instance the preceding line is redundant. Perhaps the words here, as in many other passages, have been shuffled out of their places. We might read—

"And use of service, none ; succession,

"Contract, bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none.]" —*succession* being often used by Shakspeare as a quadrisyllable. It must however be owned, that in the passage in Montaigne's *Essays* the words *contract* and *succession* are arranged in the same manner as in the first folio. MALONE.

"Letters should not be known ; no use of service,

"Of riches or of poverty ; no contracts,

"Successions ; bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none :." The words already quoted from Florio's Translation (as Dr. Farmer observes to me) instruct us to regulate our author's metre as it is exhibited in my text.

Probably Shakspeare first wrote (in the room of *partition*, which did not suit the structure of his verse) *bourn* ; but recollecting that one of its significations was a *rivulet*, and that his island would have fared ill without fresh water, he changed *bourn* to *bound of land*, a phrase that could not be misunderstood. At the same time he might have forgot to strike out *bourn*, his original word, which is now rejected ; for if not used for a *brook*,

No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil :
 No occupation ; all men idle, all ;
 And women too : but innocent and pure :
 No sovereignty :—

SEB. Yet he would be king on't.

ANT. The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning².

GON. All things in common, nature should produce

Without sweat or endeavour : treason, felony,
 Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine³,
 Would I not have ; but nature should bring forth,
 Of its own kind, all foizon⁴, all abundance,
 To feed my innocent people.

SEB. No marrying 'mong his subjects ?

it would have exactly the same meaning as "bound of land." There is therefore no need of the dissyllabical assistance recommended in the preceeding note. STEEVENS.

² The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.] All this dialogue is a fine satire on the Utopian treatises of government, and the impracticable inconsistent schemes therein recommended. WARBURTON.

³ —any ENGINE,—] An *engine* is the *rack*. So, in K. Lear :
 " — like an *engine*, wrench'd my frame of nature
 " From the fix'd place."

It may, however, be used here in its common signification of instrument of war, or military machine. STEEVENS.

⁴ —all FOIZON,] *Foison*, or *foizon*, signifies plenty, *ubertas*; not moisture, or juice of grass, as Mr. Pope says. EDWARDS.

So, in Warner's Albion's England, 1602, b. xiii. ch. 78 :

" Union, in breese, is *foysonous*, and discorde works decay."

Mr. Pope, however, is not entirely mistaken, as *foison*, or *fizon*, sometimes bears the meaning which he has affixed to it. See Ray's Collection of South and East country words. STEEVENS.

" — nature should bring forth,

" Of its own kind, all foizon, all abundance,

" To feed my innocent people." " And if notwithstanding, in divers fruits of those countries that were never tilled, we shall find that in respect of our's they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste, there is no reason Art should gain the point of our great and puissant mother, *Nature*." Montaigne's *Essaies*, ubi supra. MALONE.

ANT. None, man ; all idle ; whores, and knaves.

GON. I would with such perfection govern, sir,
To excel the golden age ⁵.

SEB. 'Save his majesty !

ANT. Long live Gonzalo !

GON. And, do you mark me, sir ?—

ALON. Pr'ythee, no more : thou dost talk nothing
to me.

GON. I do well believe your highness ; and did it
to minister occasion to these gentlemen, who are of
such sensible and nimble lungs, that they always
use to laugh at nothing.

ANT. 'Twas you we laugh'd at.

GON. Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am no-
thing to you : so you may continue, and laugh at
nothing still.

ANT. What a blow was there given ?

SEB. An it had not fallen flat-long.

GON. You are gentlemen of brave mettle ⁶ ; you
would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would
continue in it five weeks without changing.

Enter ARIEL invisible, playing solemn musick ⁷.

SEB. We would so, and then go a bat-fowling.

ANT. Nay, good my lord, be not angry.

⁵ I would with such perfection govern, sir,

TO EXCEL THE GOLDEN AGE.] So Montaigne, ubi supra :
“ Me seemeth that what in those [newly discovered] nations we
see by experience, doth not only EXCEED *all the pictures where-
with licentious poesie hath proudly imbellished the GOLDEN AGE*,
and all her quaint inventions to fain a happy condition of man,
but also the conception and desire of philosophy.” MALONE.

⁶ — of brave METTLE ;] The old copy has—*metal*. The two
words are frequently confounded in the first folio. The epithet,
brave, shows clearly, that the word now placed in the text was
intended by our author. MALONE.

⁷ *Enter ARIEL, &c. playing solemn music.*] This stage-direc-
tion does not mean to tell us that Ariel himself was the *fidicen* ;
but that solemn music attended his appearance, was an accom-
paniment to his entry. STEEVENS.

GON. No, I warrant you ; I will not adventure my discretion so weakly. Will you laugh me asleep, for I am very heavy ?

ANT. Go sleep, and hear us.

[*All sleep but ALON. SEB. and ANT.*

ALON. What, all so soon asleep ! I wish mine eyes

Would, with themselves, shut up my thoughts : I find,

They are inclin'd to do so.

SEB.

Please you, sir,

Do not omit the heavy offer of it :

It seldom visits sorrow ; when it doth,

It is a comforter.

ANT.

We two, my lord,

Will guard your person, while you take your rest,
And watch your safety.

ALON.

Thank you : Wond'rous heavy.—

[*ALONSO sleeps. Exit ARIEL.*

SEB. What a strange drowsiness possesses them !

ANT. It is the quality o' the climate.

SEB.

Why

Doth it not then our eye-lids sink ? I find not
Myself dispos'd to sleep.

ANT.

Nor I ; my spirits are nimble.

They fell together all, as by consent ;

They dropp'd, as by a thunder-stroke. What
might,

Worthy Sebastian ?—O, what might ?—No more :—

And yet, methinks, I see it in thy face,

What thou should'st be : the occasion speaks thee ;
and

My strong imagination sees a crown

Dropping upon thy head.

SEB.

What, art thou waking ?

ANT. Do you not hear me speak ?

SEB. I do ; and, surely,
It is a sleepy language ; and thou speak'st
Out of thy sleep : What is it thou didst say ?
This is a strange repose, to be asleep
With eyes wide open ; standing, speaking, mov-
ing,
And yet so fast asleep.

ANT. Noble Sebastian,
Thou let'st thy fortune sleep—die rather ; wink'st
Whiles thou art waking.

SEB. Thou dost snore distinctly ;
There's meaning in thy snores.

ANT. I am more serious than my custom : you
Must be so too, if heed me ; which to do,
Trebles thee o'er⁸.

SEB. Well ; I am standing water.

ANT. I'll teach you how to flow.

SEB. Do so : to ebb,
Hereditary sloth instructs me.

ANT. O,
If you but knew, how you the purpose cherish,
Whiles thus you mock it ! how, in stripping it,

⁸ I am more serious than my custom : you
Must be so too, if heed me : which to do,

TREBLES THEE O'ER.] This passage is represented to me as an obscure one. The meaning of it seems to be—' You must put on more than your usual seriousness, if you are disposed to pay a proper attention to my proposal ; which attention if you bestow, it will in the end make you *thrice what you are*.' Sebastian is already brother to the throne ; but, being made a king by Antonio's contrivance, would be (according to our author's idea of greatness) *thrice* the man he was before. In this sense he would be *trebled* o'er. So, in Pericles, 1609 :

" — the master calls,

" And *trebles* the confusion."

Again, in The Two Noble Kinsmen, 1634 :

" — *thirde* his own worth." STEEVENS.

Again, in the Merchant of Venice :

" — Yet, for you,

" I would be *trebled* twenty times myself." MALONE.

You more invest it ⁹! Ebbing men, indeed,
Most often do so near the bottom run,
By their own fear, or sloth.

SEB. Pr'ythee, say on :
The setting of thine eye, and cheek, proclaim
A matter from thee ; and a birth, indeed,
Which throes thee much to yield.

ANT. Thus, sir :
Although this lord of weak remembrance ¹, this
(Who shall be of as little memory,
When he is earth'd,) hath here almost persuaded
(For he's a spirit of persuasion, only
Professes to persuade) the king, his son's alive ;
'Tis as impossible that he's undrown'd,
As he that sleeps here, swims ².

⁹ If you but knew, how you the purpose cherish,
Whiles thus you mock it ! how, in stripping it,

You more invest it !] A judicious critic in *The Edinburgh Magazine* for Nov. 1786, offers the following illustration of this obscure passage. " Sebastian introduces the simile of water. It is taken up by Antonio, who says he will teach his stagnant water to flow. '— It has already learned to ebb,' says Sebastian. To which Antonio replies, ' O if you but knew how much even that metaphor, which you use in jest, encourages to the design which I hint at ; how in stripping the words of their common meaning, and using them figuratively, you adapt them to your own situation ! ' "

STEEVENS.

¹ — this lord of weak remembrance,] This lord, who, being now in his dotage, has outlived his faculty of remembering ; and who, once laid in the ground, shall be as little remembered himself, as he can now remember other things. JOHNSON.

² — hath here almost persuaded

(For he's a spirit of persuasion, only

PROFESSES TO PERSUADE) the king, his son's alive ;

'Tis as impossible that he's undrown'd,

As he that sleeps here, swims.] Of this entangled sentence I can draw no sense from the present reading, and therefore imagine that the author gave it thus :

" For *he*, a spirit of persuasion, only

" Professes to persuade *the king, his son's alive ;* "

Of which the meaning may be either, that " he alone, who is a spirit of persuasion, professes to persuade the king ; " or that, " He only professes to persuade, " that is, " without being so persuaded himself, he makes a show of persuading the king. " JOHNSON.

SEB. I have no hope
That he's undrown'd.

The meaning may be—"He is a mere rhetorician, one who professes the art of persuasion, and nothing else; i. e. he professes to persuade another to believe that of which he himself is not convinced; he is content to be plausible, and has no further aim." (So, as Mr. Malone observes,) in *Troilus and Cressida*:
"— why he'll answer nobody, he *professes* not answering."

STEEVENS.

The obscurity of this passage arises from a misconception of the word *he's*, which is not an abbreviation of *he is*, but of *he has*; and partly from the omission of the pronoun *who*, before the word *professes*, by a common poetical ellipsis. Supply that deficiency, and the sentence will run thus:—

"Although this lord of weak remembrance

"—— hath here almost persuaded

"(For *he has* a spirit of persuasion, *who*, only

"Professes to persuade,) the king, his son's alive;"—

And the meaning is clearly this.—This old lord, though a mere dotard, has almost persuaded the king that his son is alive; for he is so willing to believe it, that any man who undertakes to persuade him of it, has the powers of persuasion, and succeeds in the attempt.

We find a similar expression in *The First Part of Henry IV.* When Poins undertakes to engage the Prince to make one of the party to Gads-hill, Falstaff says:

"Well! may'st thou *have the spirit of persuasion*, and he the ears of profiting! that what thou speakest may move, and what he hears may be believed!" M. MASON.

The light Mr. M. Mason's conjecture has thrown on this passage, I think, enables me to discover and remedy the defect in it.

I cannot help regarding the words—"professes to persuade"—as a mere gloss or paraphrase on "— he has a spirit of persuasion." This explanatory sentence, being written in the margin of an actor's part, or playhouse copy, was afterwards injudiciously incorporated with our author's text. Read the passage without these words,

"—— hath here almost persuaded

"(For he's a spirit of persuasion only.)

"The king, his son's alive; 'tis as impossible," &c.

and nothing is wanting to its sense or metre.

On the contrary, the insertion of the words I have excluded, by lengthening the parenthesis, obscures the meaning of the speaker, and, at the same time, produces redundancy of measure.

Irregularity of metre ought always to excite suspicions of omission or interpolation. Where somewhat has been omitted, through chance or design, a line is occasionally formed by the junction of

ANT. O, out of that no hope,
 What great hope have you! no hope, that way, is
 Another way so high an hope, that even
 Ambition cannot pierce a wink beyond³,
 But doubts discovery there. Will you grant, with
 me,

That Ferdinand is drown'd?

SEB.

He's gone.

ANT.

Then, tell me,

Who's the next heir of Naples?

SEB.

Claribel.

ANT. She that is queen of Tunis; she that dwells
 Ten leagues beyond man's life⁴; she that from
 Naples

hemistichs previously unfitted to each other. Such a line will naturally exceed the established proportion of feet; and when marginal observations are crept into the text, they will have just such aukward effects as I conceive to have been produced by one of them in the present instance.

"Perhaps (says that excellent scholar and perspicacious critic Mr. Porson, in his 6th Letter to Archdeacon Travis) you think it an affected and absurd idea that a marginal note can ever creep into the text: yet I hope you are not so ignorant as not to know that this has actually happened, not merely in *hundreds* or *thousands*, but in *millions* of places," &c. &c.—

"From this known propensity of transcribers to turn every thing into the text which they found written in the margin of their MSS. or between the lines, so many interpolations have proceeded, that at present the surest canon of criticism is, *Præferatur lectio brevior*." P. 149, 150.

Though I once expressed a different opinion, I am now well convinced that the metre of Shakspeare's plays had originally no other irregularity than was occasioned by an accidental use of hemistichs. When we find the smoothest series of lines among our earliest dramatic writers (who could fairly boast of no other requisites for poetry) are we to expect less polished versification from Shakspeare? STEEVENS.

³ — a wink beyond,] That this is the utmost extent of the prospect of ambition, the point where the eye can pass no farther, and where objects lose their distinctness, so that what is there discovered is faint, obscure, and doubtful. JOHNSON.

Perhaps this is a phrase similar to what has occurred before—
 "an eye of green." BOSWELL.

Can have no note ⁵, unless the sun were post,
(The man i' the moon's too slow,) till new-born
chins

Be rough and razorable : she, from whom ⁶
We all were sea-swallow'd, though some cast again ⁷ ;
And, by that, destiny ⁸ to perform an act,
Whereof what's past is prologue ; what to come,
In yours and my discharge ⁹.

SEB. What stuff is this ?—How say you ?
'Tis true, my brother's daughter's queen of Tunis ;
So is she heir of Naples ; 'twixt which regions
There is some space.

⁴ — beyond man's life ;] i. e. at a greater distance than the
life of man is long enough to reach. STEEVENS.

⁵ — she that from Naples

Can have no NOTE, &c.] Note (as Mr. Malone observes) is
notice, or information.

Shakspeare's great ignorance of geography is not more conspicuous in any instance than in this, where he supposes Tunis and Naples to have been at such an immeasurable distance from each other. He may, however, be countenanced by Apollonius Rhodius, who says, that both the *Rhone* and *Po* meet in one, and discharge themselves into the gulph of Venice ; and by Æschylus, who has placed the river Eridanus in Spain. STEEVENS.

⁶ — she, from whom —] i. e. in coming from whom. The old copy has—"she *that* from," &c. which cannot be right. The compositor's eye probably glanced on a preceding line, "*she that* from Naples—" The emendation was made by Mr. Rowe.

MALONE.

⁷ — though some CAST again ;] *Cast* is here used in the same sense as in *Macbeth*, Act II. Sc. III. : "— though he took my legs from me, I made a shift to *cast* him." STEEVENS.

It does not appear that a single person was lost ; but as the passengers in the ship were dispersed by Ariel in different parts of the island, Antonio supposes that those who were not of his party were lost. MALONE.

⁸ And, by that, DESTINY —] It is a common plea of wickedness to call temptation destiny. JOHNSON.

The late Dr. Musgrave very reasonably proposed to substitute—*destin'd* for *destiny*. As the construction of the passage is made easier by this slight change, I have adopted it. STEEVENS.

⁹ In yours and my discharge.] i. e. depends on what you and I are to perform. STEEVENS.

ANT. A space whose every cubit
Seems to cry out, *How shall that Claribel*
Measure us back to Naples?—Keep in Tunis¹,
And let Sebastian wake!—Say, this were death
That now hath seiz'd them; why, they were no
worse

Than now they are: There be, that can rule
Naples,

As well as he that sleeps; lords, that can prate
As amply, and unnecessarily,
As this Gonzalo; I myself could make
A chough² of as deep chat. O, that you bore
The mind that I do! what a sleep were this
For your advancement! Do you understand me?

SEB. Methinks, I do.

ANT. And how does your content
Tender your own good fortune?

SEB. I remember,
You did supplant your brother Prospero.

ANT. True :
And, look, how well my garments sit upon me ;
Much feater than before : My brother's servants
Were then my fellows, now they are my men.

SEB. But, for your conscience—

ANT. Ay, sir ; where lies that ? if it were a kybe,
'Twould put me to my slipper ; But I feel not
This deity in my bosom : twenty consciences,

¹ — KEEP in Tunis,] There is in this passage a propriety lost, which a slight alteration will restore :

“ — Sleep in Tunis,

“ And let Sebastian wake ! ” JOHNSON.

The old reading is sufficiently explicable. “ Claribel (says he), keep where thou art, and allow Sebastian time to awaken those senses by the help of which he may perceive the advantage which now presents itself.” STEEVENS.

² A chough —] Is a bird of the jack-daw kind. So, in Macbeth, Act III. Sc. IV. :

“ By magot-pies, and choughs, and rooks,” &c.

STEEVENS.

That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candied be they,
And melt, ere they molest³! Here lies your brother,

No better than the earth he lies upon⁴,
If he were that which now he's like, that's dead;
Whom I, with this obedient steel, three inches of it,
Can lay to bed for ever⁵: whiles you, doing thus,
To the perpetual wink for aye⁶ might put

³ AND melt, ere they molest!] I had rather read—

“*Would* melt, ere they molest.”

i. e. ‘Twenty consciences, such as stand between me and my hopes, though they were congealed, would melt before they could molest me, or prevent the execution of my purposes. JOHNSON.

Let twenty consciences be first congealed and then dissolved, ere they molest me, or prevent me from executing my purposes.

MALONE.

If the interpretation of Johnson and Malone is just, *and* is certainly as intelligible as *or*; but I can see no reasonable meaning in this interpretation. It amounts to nothing more as thus interpreted, than ‘My conscience must melt and become softer than it is before it molests me;’ which is an insipidity unworthy of the Poet. I would read “Candy’d be they, *or* melt:” and the expression then has spirit and propriety. ‘Had I twenty consciences,’ says Antonio, ‘they might be hot or cold for me; they should not give me the smallest trouble.’—*Edinburgh Magazine*, Nov. 1786. STEEVENS.

⁴ No better than the earth he lies upon,] So, in Julius Cæsar:

“—— at Pompey’s basis lies along,

“*No worthier than the dust.*” STEEVENS.

⁵ If he were that which now he’s like; whom I,

With this obedient steel, three inches of it,

Can lay to bed, &c.] The old copy reads—

“If he were that which now he’s like, *that’s dead*;

“Whom I with this obedient steel, three inches of it,

“Can lay to bed,” &c.

The words—“that’s dead” (as Dr. Farmer observes to me) are evidently a gloss, or marginal note, which had found its way into the text. Such a supplement is useless to the speaker’s meaning, and one of the verses becomes redundant by its insertion.

STEEVENS.

⁶ — for AYE —] i. e. for ever. So, in King Lear:

“—— I am come

“To bid my king and master *aye* good night.”

STEEVENS.

This ancient morsel⁷, this sir Prudence, who
Should not upbraid our course. For all the rest,
They'll take suggestion, as a cat laps milk⁸;
They'll tell the clock to any business that
We say befits the hour.

SEB. Thy case, dear friend,
Shall be my precedent; as thou got'st Milan,
I'll come by Naples. Draw thy sword: one stroke
Shall free thee from the tribute which thou pay'st;
And I the king shall love thee.

ANT. Draw together:
And when I rear my hand, do you the like,
To fall it on Gonzalo.

SEB. O, but one word.

[*They converse apart.*]

Musick. *Re-enter ARIEL, invisible.*

ARI. My master through his art foresees the
danger
That you, his friend, are in; and sends me forth,
(For else his project dies,) to keep them living⁹.
[*Sings in GONZALO'S ear.*]

⁷ This ancient MORSEL,] For *morsel*, Dr. Warburton reads—*ancient moral*, very elegantly and judiciously; yet I know not whether the author might not write *morsel*, as we say a *piece of a man*. JOHNSON.

So, in Measure for Measure:

“How doth my dear *morsel*, thy mistress?” STEEVENS.

⁸ — take SUGGESTION,] i. e. Receive any hint of villainy.
JOHNSON.

So, in Macbeth, Act I. Sc. III.:

“If good, why do I yield to that *suggestion*

“Whose horrid image,” &c. STEEVENS.

“They'll take *suggestion*, as a cat laps milk;] That is, will adopt, and bear witness to, any tale you shall invent; you may suborn them as evidences to clear you from all suspicion of having murdered the king. A similar signification occurs in The Two Gentlemen of Verona:

“Love bad me swear, and love bids me forswear:

“O sweet *suggesting* love, if thou hast sinn'd,

“Teach me, thy tempted subject, to excuse it.” HENLEY.

⁹ — to keep THEM living.] By *them*, as the text now stands,

*While you here do snoring lie,
 Open-ey'd conspiracy
 His time doth take :
 If of life you keep a care,
 Shake off slumber, and beware :
 Awake ! Awake !*

Gonsalo and Alonso must be understood. Dr. Johnson objects very justly to this passage. "As it stands," says he, "at present, the sense is this. He sees *your* danger, and will therefore save *them*." He therefore would read—"That *these* his friends are in."

The confusion has, I think, arisen from the omission of a single letter. Our author, I believe, wrote—

"—— and sends me forth,

"For else his projects dies, to keep them living."

i. e. he has sent me forth, to keep his projects alive, which else would be destroyed by the murder of his friend Gonzalo.—The opposition between the life and death of a project appears to me much in Shakspeare's manner. So, in *Much Ado about Nothing* : "What *life* is in that, to be the *death* of this marriage?"—The plural noun joined to a verb in the singular number, is to be met with in almost every page of the first folio. So, to confine myself to the play before us, edit. 1623 :

"My old *bones akes*."

Again, *ibid.* :

"—— At this hour

"*Lies* at my mercy all my *enemies*."

Again, *ibid.* :

"His *tears runs* down his beard—."

Again :

"What *cares* these *roarers* for the name of king."

It was the common language of the time ; and ought to be corrected, as indeed it generally has been in the modern editions of our author, by changing the number of the verb. Thus, in the present instance we should read—"For else his projects *die*, &c."

MALONE.

I have received Dr. Johnson's amendment. Ariel, finding that Prospero was equally solicitous for the preservation of Alonso and Gonzalo, very naturally styles them both his *friends*, without adverting to the guilt of the former. Toward the success of Prospero's design, their lives were alike necessary.

Mr. Henley says that "By *them* are meant Sebastian and Antonio. The project of Prospero, which depended upon Ariel's *keeping them alive*, may be seen, Act III."

The song of Ariel, however, sufficiently points out which were the immediate objects of his protection. He cannot be supposed to have any reference to what happens in the last scene of the next Act. STEEVENS.

ANT. Then let us both be sudden.

GON. Now, good angels, preserve the king!

[*They wake.*]

ALON. Why, how now, ho! awake! Why are you drawn¹?

Wherefore this ghastly looking?

GON. What's the matter?

SEB. Whiles we stood here securing your repose, Even now, we heard a hollow burst of bellowing Like bulls, or rather lions; did it not wake you? It struck mine ear most terribly.

ALON. I heard nothing.

ANT. O, 'twas a din to fright a monster's ear; To make an earthquake! sure it was the roar Of a whole herd of lions.

ALON. Heard you this, Gonzalo?

GON. Upon mine honour, sir, I heard a humming, And that a strange one too, which did awake me: I shak'd you, sir, and cry'd; as mine eyes open'd, I saw their weapons drawn:—there was a noise, That's verity: 'Tis best we stand upon our guard²: Or that we quit this place: let's draw our weapons.

ALON. Lead off this ground; and let's make further search

For my poor son.

GON. Heavens keep him from these beasts! For he is, sure, i' the island.

¹ — drawn?] Having your swords drawn. So, in *Romeo and Juliet*:

“What, art thou *drawn* among these heartless hinds?”

JOHNSON.

² That's verity: 'Best stand upon our guard;] The old copy reads—

“That's *verily*: 'Tis best we stand upon our guard.”

Mr. Pope very properly changed *verily* to *verity*: and as the verse would be too long by a foot, if the words '*tis* and *we* were retained, I have discarded them in favour of an elliptical phrase which occurs in our ancient comedies, as well as in our author's *Cymbeline*, Act III. Sc. III.:

“'Best draw my sword;”

i. e. *it were* best to draw it. STEEVENS.

ALON.

Lead away.

ARI. Prospero, my lord, shall know what I have
done:

So, king, go safely on to seek thy son. [*Aside.*
Exeunt.

SCENE II.

Another part of the Island.

Enter CALIBAN, with a burden of wood.

A noise of thunder heard.

CAL. All the infections that the sun sucks up
From bogs, fens, flats, on Prosper fall, and make
him

By inch-meal a disease ! His spirits hear me,
And yet I needs must curse. But they'll nor pinch,
Fright me with urchin shows, pitch me i' the mire,
Nor lead me, like a fire-brand, in the dark
Out of my way, unless he bid them ; but
For every trifle are they set upon me :
Sometime like apes, that moe³ and chatter at me,
And after, bite me ; then like hedge-hogs, which
Lie tumbling in my bare-foot way, and mount
Their pricks⁴ at my foot-fall ; sometime am I

³ — that MOE, &c.] i. e. make mouths. So, in the old version of the Psalms :

“ ——— making *moe*s at me.”

Again, in the *Mystery of Candlemas-Day*, 1512 :

“ And make them to lye and *move* like an *ape*.”

Again, in *Sidney's Arcadia*, book iii. :

“ *Ape* great thing gave, though he did *mowing* stand,

“ The instrument of instruments, the hand.” STEEVENS.

So, in *Nashe's Apologie of Pierce Penniless*, 1593 : “ — found nobody at home but an *ape*, that sate in the porch and made mops and *mows* at him.” MALONE.

⁴ Their PRICKS—] i. e. prickles. STEEVENS.

All wound with adders⁵, who, with cloven tongues,
Do hiss me into madness :—Lo ! now ! lo !

Enter TRINCULO.

Here comes a spirit of his ; and to torment me,
For bringing wood in slowly : I'll fall flat ;
Perchance, he will not mind me.

TRIN. Here's neither bush nor shrub, to bear off
any weather at all, and another storm brewing ; I
hear it sing i' the wind : yond' same black cloud,
yond' huge one, looks like a foul bumbard⁶ that
would shed his liquor. If it should thunder, as it
did before, I know not where to hide my head :
yond' same cloud cannot choose but fall by pail-
fuls.—What have we here ? a man or a fish ? Dead
or alive ? A fish : he smells like a fish ; a very

⁵ — WOUND with adders,] Enwrapped by adders *wound* or
twisted about me. JOHNSON.

⁶ — looks like a foul BUMBARD —] This term again occurs in
The First Part of Henry IV. : “ — that swoln parcel of dropsies,
that huge *bumbard* of sack—” And again, in Henry VIII. :
“ And here you lie baiting of *bombards*, when ye should do ser-
vice.” By these several passages, 'tis plain the word meant a
large vessel for holding drink, as well as the piece of ordnance so
called. THEOBALD.

Ben Jonson, in his Masque of Augurs, confirms the conjecture
of Theobald : “ The poor cattle yonder are passing away the time
with a cheat loaf, and a *bumbard* of broken beer.”

So, again, in The Martyr'd Soldier, by Shirley, 1638 :

“ His boots as wide as the black-jacks,

“ Or *bombards*, toss'd by the king's guards.”

And it appears from a passage in Ben Jonson's Masque of Love
Restor'd that a *bombard-man* was one who carried about provisions.
“ I am to deliver into the buttery so many firkins of *aurum potable*
as it delivers out *bombards* of bouge,” &c.

Again, in Decker's Match me in London, 1631 :

“ You are ascended up to what you are, from the black-jack to
the *bumbard* distillation.” STEEVENS.

Cole renders *bombard*, *cantharus*, a tankard. Mr. Upton would
read—a *full* bumbard. See a note on—“ I thank the Gods, I am
foul ;” As You Like It, vol. vi. p. 445, n. 1. MALONE.

ancient and fish-like smell; a kind of, not of the newest, Poor-John. A strange fish! Were I in England now, (as once I was,) and had but this fish painted⁷, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man⁸; any strange beast there makes a man: when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian⁹. Legg'd like a man! and his fins like arms! Warm, o' my

7 — this fish painted,] To exhibit fishes, either real or imaginary, was very common about the time of our author. So, in Jasper Maine's comedy of the City Match:

"Enter Bright, &c. hanging out the picture of a *strange fish*."

"This is the fifth *fish* now

"That he hath shewn thus."

It appears from the books at Stationers' Hall, that in 1604 was published, "A strange reporte of a monstrous *fish*, that appeared in the form of a woman from her waist upward, scene in the sea."

So likewise, in Churchyard's Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Frobisher's Voyage to Meta Incognita, &c. bl. l. 12mo. 1578: "And marchyng backe, they found a *straunge Fish* dead, that had been caste from the sea on the shore, who had a boane in his head like an Unicorne, which they brought away and presented to our Prince, when thei came home." STEEVENS.

So, in the office book of Sir Henry Herbert, MS. we find: "A license to James Seale to shew a *strange fish* for half a yeaere, the 3d of September, 1632." MALONE.

8 — MAKE a man;] That is, make a man's fortune. So, in A Midsummer-Night's Dream: "— we are all *made men*."

JOHNSON.

Again, in Ram-alley, or Merry Tricks, 1611:

"——— She's a wench

"Was born to *make* us all." STEEVENS.

9 — a dead INDIAN.] In a subsequent speech of Stephano, we have: "— savages and *men of Inde*;" in Love's Labour's Lost, "— a rude and savage *man of Inde*;" and in K. Henry VIII. the porter asks the mob, if they "think some strange *Indian*, &c. is come to court." Perhaps all these passages allude to the Indians brought home by Sir Martin Frobisher.

Queen Elizabeth's original instructions to him (MS. now before me) "concerning his voyage to Cathaia," &c. contain the following article:

"You shall not bring aboue iii or iiij persons of that countrey,

troth ! I do now let loose my opinion ¹, hold it no longer ; this is no fish, but an islander, that hath lately suffered by a thunder-bolt. [*Thunder.*] Alas ! the storm is come again : my best way is to creep under his gaberdine ²; there is no other shelter hereabout : Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows ³. I will here shroud, till the dregs of the storm be past.

the which shall be of diuers ages, and shall be taken in such sort as you may best avoyde offence of that people."

In the year 1577, "A description of the portrayture and shape of those strange kinde of people which the wurthie Mr. Martin Fourbosier brought into England in A°. 1576," was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company.

By Frobisher's First Voyage for the Discoverie of Cataya, bl. l. 4to. 1278, the fate of the first savage taken by him is ascertained.—"Whereupon when he founde himself in captiuitie, for very choler and disdain he bit his tong in twaine within his mouth : notwithstanding, he died not thereof, but *liued untill he came in Englande, and then he died of colde* which he had taken at sea."

STEEVENS.

¹ — LET LOOSE my opinion, &c.] So, in *Love's Labour's Lost* : "—Now you will be my purgation, and *let me loose*." STEEVENS.

² — his GABERDINE ;] A *gaberdine* is properly the coarse frock or outward garment of a peasant. Spanish, *Gaberdina*. So, in *Look About You*, 1600:

"I'll conjure his *gaberdine*."

The *gaberdine* is still worn by the peasants in Sussex.

STEEVENS.

It here however means, I believe, a loose felt cloak. Minshew in his *Dict.* 1617, calls it "a rough Irish mantle, or horseman's coat. *Gaban*, Span. and Fr.—*Læna*, i. e. *vestis quæ super cætera vestimenta imponebatur*." See also *Cotgrave's Dict.* in *v. gaban*, and *galleverdine*. MALONE.

³ — a very ancient and fish-like smell—misery acquaints a man with strange BEDFELLOWS.] One would almost think that Shakespeare had not been unacquainted with a passage in the fourth book of Homer's *Odyssey*, as translated by Chapman :

"——— The sea-calves savour was

"So passing sowre (they still being bred at seas,)

"It much afflicted us : for who can please

"To lie by one of these same sea-bred whales ?"

STEEVENS. .

Chapman's *Odyssey* did not appear till 1614. MALONE.

Enter STEPHANO, singing ; a bottle in his hand.

*STE. I shall no more to sea, to sea,
Here shall I dye a-shore ;—*

This is a very scurvy tune to sing at a man's funeral :

Well, here's my comfort. [*Drinks.*

*The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I,
The gunner, and his mate,
Lov'd Mall, Meg, and Marian, and Margery,
But none of us car'd for Kate:
For she had a tongue with a tang,
Would cry to a sailor, Go, hang:
She lov'd not the savour of tar nor of pitch,
Yet a tailor might scratch her where-e'er she did
itch :*

Then to sea, boys, and let her go hang.

This is a scurvy tune too : But here's my comfort. [*Drinks.*

CAL. Do not torment me : O !

STE. What's the matter ? Have we devils here ? Do you put tricks upon us with savages⁴, and men of Inde ? Ha ! I have not 'scap'd drowning, to be afeard now of your four legs ; for it hath been said, As proper a man as ever went on four legs, cannot make him give ground : and it shall be said so again, while Stephano breathes at nostrils.

CAL. The spirit torments me : O !

STE. This is some monster of the isle, with four legs ; who hath got, as I take it, an ague : Where

⁴ — savages,] The folio reads—*salvages*, and rightly. It was the spelling and pronunciation of the time. So, in Spenser's Fairy Queen, b. vi. c. 8, st. 35 :

“There dwelt a *salvage nation*,” &c. REED.

the devil should he learn our language ? I will give him some relief, if it be but for that : If I can recover him, and keep him tame, and get to Naples with him, he's a present for any emperor that ever trod on neat's-leather.

CAL. Do not torment me, pr'ythee ;
I'll bring my wood home faster.

STE. He's in his fit now ; and does not talk after the wisest. He shall taste of my bottle : if he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to remove his fit⁵ : if I can recover him, and keep him tame, I will not take too much⁶ for him : he shall pay for him that hath him, and that soundly.

CAL. Thou dost me yet but little hurt ; thou wilt anon, I know it by thy trembling⁷ : now Prosper works upon thee.

⁵ — if he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to remove his fit :] This is no impertinent hint to those who indulge themselves in a constant use of wine. When it is necessary for them as a medicine, it produces no effect. STEEVENS.

⁶ — TOO MUCH —] *Too much* means, *any sum, ever so much*. So, in the Letters from the Paston Family, vol. ii. p. 219 : “ And ye be beholding unto my Lady for hyr good wurde, for sche hath never preysyd yowe *to much*.” i. e. though she has praised you much, her praise is not above your merit.

It has, however, been observed to me, that when the vulgar mean to ask an extravagant price for any thing, they say, with a laugh, I won't make him pay twice for it. This sense sufficiently accommodates itself to Trinculo's expression. Mr. M. Mason explains the passage differently.—“ I will not take for him even more than he is worth.” STEEVENS.

I think the meaning is, Let me take what sum I will, however great, “ I shall not take too much for him : ” it is impossible for me to sell him too dear. MALONE.

I apprehend it is ironically said. ‘ I will get as much for him as I can.’ BOSWELL.

⁷ — I know it by thy TREMBLING :] This *tremor* is always represented as the effect of being possessed by the devil. So, in the Comedy of Errors, Act IV. Sc. IV. :

“ Mark how he *trembles* in his extacy ! ” STEEVENS.

STE. Come on your ways ; open your mouth ; here is that which will give language to you, cat⁸ ; open your mouth : this will shake your shaking, I can tell you, and that soundly : you cannot tell who's your friend ; open your chaps again.

TRIN. I should know that voice : It should be— But he is drowned ; and these are devils : O ! defend me !—

STE. Four legs, and two voices ; a most delicate monster ! His forward voice⁹ now is to speak well of his friend : his backward voice is to utter foul speeches, and to detract. If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague : Come,——Amen¹ ! I will pour some in thy other mouth.

TRIN. Stephano,—

STE. Doth thy other mouth call me ? Mercy ! mercy ! This is a devil, and no monster : I will leave him ; I have no long spoon².

TRIN. Stephano !—if thou beest Stephano, touch me, and speak to me ; for I am Trinculo ;—be not afraid,—thy good friend Trinculo.

STE. If thou beest Trinculo, come forth ; I'll pull thee by the lesser legs : if any be Trinculo's legs, these are they. Thou art very Trinculo, in-

⁸ — cat ;] Alluding to an old proverb, that *good liquor will make a cat speak*. STEEVENS.

⁹ His forward voice, &c.] The person of Fame was anciently described in this manner. So, in *Penelope's Web*, by Greene, 1601 : "Fame hath two faces, readie as well to back-bite as to flatter." STEEVENS.

¹ — Amen !] Means, stop your draught : come to a conclusion. "I will pour some," &c. STEEVENS.

² I have no long spoon.] Alluding to the proverb, "A long spoon to eat with the devil." STEEVENS.

See *Comedy of Errors*, Act IV. Sc. III. and Chaucer's *Squier's Tale*, 10,916 of the late edit. :

"Therefore behoveth him a full long spoone,

"That shall ete with a fend."— TYRWHITT.

deed: How cam'st thou to be the siege of this moon-calf³? Can he vent Trinculos?

TRIN. I took him to be killed with a thunder-stroke:—But art thou not drowned, Stephano? I hope now, thou art not drowned. Is the storm over-blown? I hid me under the dead moon-calf's gaberdine, for fear of the storm: And art thou living, Stephano? O Stephano, two Neapolitans 'scap'd!

STE. Pr'ythee, do not turn me about; my stomach is not constant.

CAL. These be fine things, an if they be not sprites.

That's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor: I will kneel to him.

STE. How did'st thou 'scape? How cam'st thou hither? swear by this bottle, how thou cam'st hither. I escaped upon a butt of sack, which the sailors heaved over-board, by this bottle! which I made of the bark of a tree, with mine own hands, since I was cast a-shore.

CAL. I'll swear, upon that bottle, to be thy true subject; for the liquor is not earthly.

STE. Here; swear then how thou escap'dst⁴.

³ — to be the SIEGE of this MOON-CALF?] *Siege* signifies *stool* in every sense of the word, and is here used in the dirtiest.

So, in Holinshed, p. 705: "In this yeare also, a house on London Bridge, called the common *siege*, or privie, fell downe into the Thames."

A *moon-calf* is an inanimate shapeless mass, supposed by Pliny to be engendered of woman only. See his Nat. Hist. b. x. ch. 64.

Again, in Philemon Holland's translation of book xxx. ch. 14, edit. 1601: "—there is not a better thing to dissolve and scatter *moon-calves*, and such like false conceptions in the wombe."

STEEVENS.

⁴ *Cal.* I'll swear, upon that bottle, to be thy True subject, &c.

Ste. Here; swear then how thou escap'dst.] The passage should probably be printed thus:

TRIN. Swam a-shore, man, like a duck ; I can swim like a duck, I'll be sworn.

STE. Here, kiss the book : Though thou canst swim like a duck, thou art made like a goose.

TRIN. O Stephano, hast any more of this ?

STE. The whole butt, man ; my cellar is in a rock by the sea-side, where my wine is hid. How now, moon-calf ? how does thine ague ?

CAL. Hast thou not dropped from heaven ⁵ ?

STE. Out o' the moon, I do assure thee : I was the man in the moon, when time was.

CAL. I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee ;
My mistress shewed me thee, and thy dog, and thy bush ⁶.

STE. Come, swear to that ; kiss the book : I will furnish it anon with new contents : swear.

TRIN. By this good light, this is a very shallow monster :—I afeard of him ?—a very weak monster ⁷ :—The man i' the moon ?—a most poor cre-

“ Ste. [To Cal.] Here, swear then. [To Trin.] How escap'dst thou ? ”

The speaker would naturally take notice of Caliban's proffered allegiance. Besides, he bids Trinculo kiss the book after he has answered the question ; a sufficient proof of the rectitude of the proposed arrangement. RITSON.

Ritson's arrangement of the preceding line is well imagined.

M. MASON.

⁵ Hast thou not dropped from heaven ?] The new-discovered Indians of the island of St. Salvador, asked, by signs, whether Columbus and his companions were *not come down from heaven*.

TOLLET.

⁶ My mistress shewed me thee, thy dog, and bush.] The old copy, which exhibits this and several preceding speeches of Caliban as prose, (though it be apparent they were designed for verse,) reads—“ My mistress shewed me thee, *and* thy dog, and *thy* bush.” Let the editor who laments the loss of the words—*and* and *thy*, compose their elegy. STEEVENS.

He need not compose their elegy if he can restore them to life.

BOSWELL.

⁷ I AFEARD OF HIM ?—a very weak monster, &c.] It is to be observed, that Trinculo, the speaker, is not charged with being

dulous monster :—Well drawn, monster, in good sooth.

CAL. I'll shew thee every fertile inch o' the island ;

And I will kiss thy foot : I pr'ythee, be my god⁹.

TRIN. By this light, a most perfidious and drunken monster ; when his god's asleep, he'll rob his bottle.

CAL. I'll kiss thy foot : I'll swear myself thy subject.

STE. Come on then ; down, and swear.

TRIN. I shall laugh myself to death at this puppy-headed monster : A most scurvy monster ! I could find in my heart to beat him,—

STE. Come, kiss.

TRIN. —but that the poor monster's in drink : An abominable monster !

CAL. I'll shew thee the best springs ; I'll pluck thee berries ;

I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough.

A plague upon the tyrant that I serve !

I'll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee,

Thou wond'rous man.

TRIN. A most ridiculous monster ; to make a wonder of a poor drunkard.

CAL. I pr'ythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow ;

afraid ; but it was his consciousness that he was so that drew this brag from him. This is nature. *WARBURTON.*

⁹ And kiss thy foot : I pr'ythee, be my god.] The old copy redundantly reads :

“ And I will kiss thy foot,” &c. *RITSON.*

This is a common expression, to denote profound obeisance, So, in *Timon of Athens* :

“ Follow his strides, his lobbies fill with tendance,—

“ Make sacred even his stirrop, and through him

“ Drink the free air.”

Again, in *Titus Andronicus* : “—When you come to him, [the emperor,] at the first approach, you must kneel, then kiss his foot, then deliver your pigeons.” *MALONE.*

And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts ;
 Shew thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how
 To snare the nimble marmozet ; I'll bring thee
 To clust'ring filberds, and sometimes I'll get thee
 Young sea-mells ' from the rock : Wilt thou go
 with me ?

STE. I prythee now, lead the way, without any

¹ — sea-mells —] [Old copy, *scamels*.] This word has puzzled the commentators : Dr. Warburton reads *shamois* ; Mr. Theobald would read any thing rather than *scamels*. Mr. Holt, who wrote notes upon this play, observes, that limpets are in some places called *scams*, and therefore I had once suffered *scamels* to stand. JOHNSON.

Theobald had very reasonably proposed to read *sea-malls*, or *sea-mells*. An *e*, by these careless printers, was easily changed into a *c*, and from this accident, I believe, all the difficulty arises, the word having been spelt by the transcriber, *scamels*. Willoughby mentions the bird, as Theobald has informed us. Had Mr. Holt told us in what part of England *limpets* are called *scams*, more regard would have been paid to his assertion.

I should suppose, at all events, a *bird* to have been design'd, as *young* and *old fish* are taken with equal facility ; but *young birds* are more easily surprised than *old ones*. Besides, Caliban had already proffered to *fish* for Stephano. In Cavendish's second voyage, the sailors eat *young gulls* at the isle of Penguins.

STEEVENS.

I have adopted the emendation proposed by Mr. Theobald. In Lincolnshire, as I learn from Sir Joseph Banks, the name *sea-mall* is applied to all the smaller species of gulls. Plott, the same gentleman adds, in his History of Staffordshire, p. 231, gives an account of the mode of taking a species of gull called in that country *pewits* (the black-capped gull of Lincolnshire,) with a plate annexed, at the end of which he writes—" they being accounted a good dish at the most plentiful tables." With regard to the place from which Caliban says he will fetch them, we find in Holland's Pliny, 1600 : " As touching the gulls or sea-cobs, they build in rockes." P. 237. MALONE.

Sir Joseph Banks informs me, that in Willoughby's, or rather John Ray's Ornithology, p. 34, No. 3, is mentioned the common sea-mall, *Larus cinereus minor*. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his Ancient State of the Shire of Fife, mentions, amongst fowls which frequent a neighbouring island, several sorts of *sea-malls*, and one in particular, the *katiwake*, a fowl of the *Larus* or *mall* kind, of the bigness of an ordinary pigeon, which some hold, says he, to be as savoury and as good meat as a partridge is. REED.

more talking.—Trinculo, the king and all our company else being drowned, we will inherit here.—Here; bear my bottle. Fellow Trinculo, we'll fill him by and by again.

CAL. Farewell master; farewell, farewell.
[Sings drunkenly.]

TRIN. A howling monster; a drunken monster.

*CAL. No more dams I'll make for fish;
Nor fetch in firing
At requiring,
Nor scrape trenchering², nor wash dish;
'Ban' 'Ban, Ca—Caliban³,
Has a new master—Get a new man⁴.*

Freedom, hey-day! hey-day, freedom! freedom,
hey-day, freedom!

STE. O brave monster! lead the way. [*Exeunt.*]

ACT III. SCENE I.

Before PROSPERO'S Cell.

Enter FERDINAND, bearing a log.

FER. There be some sports are painful; and their labour

² *Nor scrape trenchering,*] In our author's time trenchers were in general use; and male domesticks were sometimes employed in cleansing them. "I have helped (says Lyly, in his History of his Life and Times, ad an. 1620,) to carry eighteen tubs of water in one morning;—all manner of drudgery I willingly performed; *scrape-trenchers,*" &c. MALONE.

³ *'Ban' 'Ban, Ca—Caliban,*] Perhaps our author remembered a song of Sir P. Sidney's:

"Da, da, da—Daridan."

Astrophel and Stella, fol. 1627. MALONE.

⁴ — *Get a new man.*] When Caliban sings this last part of his ditty, he must be supposed to turn his head scornfully toward the cell of Prospero, whose service he had deserted. STEEVENS.

Delight in them sets off⁵: some kinds of baseness
 Are nobly undergone; and most poor matters
 Point to rich ends. This my mean task
 Would be⁶ as heavy to me, as odious; but

⁵ There be some sports are PAINFUL; and their LABOUR
 DELIGHT in them sets off:]

Molliter austerum studio fallente labore.

Hor. sat. 2. lib. ii. STEEVENS.

We have again the same thought in Macbeth:

"The labour we delight in physicks pain."

After "and," *at the same time* must be understood. Mr. Pope, unnecessarily reads—"But their labour—," which has been followed by the subsequent editors.

In like manner in Coriolanus, Act IV. the same change was made by him. "I am a Roman, *and* (i. e. and yet) my services are, as you are, against them." Mr. Pope reads—"I am a Roman, *but* my services," &c. MALONE.

I prefer Mr. Pope's emendation, which is justified by the following passage in the same speech:

"——This my mean task would be

"As heavy to me as 'tis odious; *but*

"The mistress that I serve," &c.

It is surely better to change a single word, than to countenance one corruption by another, or suppose that four words, necessary to produce sense, were left to be understood. STEEVENS.

Only one word, *yet*, is left to be understood. *At the same time* is explanatory of the sense in which that word is employed.

BOSWELL.

⁶ This my mean task WOULD BE —] The metre of this line is defective in the old copy, by the words *would be* being transferred to the next line. Our author and his contemporaries generally use *odious* as a trisyllable. MALONE.

Mr. Malone prints the passage as follows:

"——This my mean task would be

"As heavy to me, as odious: *but* —"

The word *odious*, as he observes, is sometimes used as a trisyllable.—Granted; but then it is *always* with the penult. *short*. The metre, therefore, as regulated by him, would still be defective.

By the advice of Dr. Farmer, I have supplied the necessary monosyllable—*'tis*; which completes the measure, without the slightest change of sense. STEEVENS.

I have restored the reading of the old copy. The first line is indeed defective, but innumerable instances of the same license

The mistress, which I serve, quickens what's dead,
And makes my labours pleasures : O, she is
Ten times more gentle than her father's crabbed ;
And he's composed of harshness. I must remove
Some thousands of these logs, and pile them up,
Upon a sore injunction : My sweet mistress
Weeps when she sees me work ; and says, such
baseness
Had ne'er like éxecutor. I forget⁷ :
But these sweet thoughts do even refresh my la-
bours ;
Most busy-less, when I do it⁸.

Enter MIRANDA; and PROSPERO at a distance.

MIRA. Alas, now! pray you,
Work not so hard: I would, the lightning had
Burnt up those logs, that you are enjoin'd to pile!
Pray, set it down, and rest you: when this burns,
'Twill weep for having wearied you: My father
Is hard at study; pray now, rest yourself;
He's safe for these three hours.

FER. O most dear mistress,
The sun will set, before I shall discharge
What I must strive to do.

occur in these plays. See the Essay on Shakspeare's Versification. BOSWELL.

7 — I forget :] Perhaps Ferdinand means to say—I forget *my task* ; but *that is not surprising, for I am thinking on Miranda*, and these sweet thoughts, &c. He may, however mean, that he “forgets or thinks little of the baseness of his employment.” Whichsoever be the sense, *And*, or *For*, should seem more proper in the next line, than *But*. MALONE.

⁸ MOST BUSY-less, when I do it.] The two first folios read :
 "Most busy *lest*, when I do it."

"Tis true this reading is corrupt; but the corruption is so very little removed from the truth of the text, that I cannot afford to think well of my own sagacity for having discovered it.

THEOBALD.

MIRA. If you'll sit down,
I'll bear your logs the while: Pray, give me that:
I'll carry it to the pile.

FER. No, precious creature:
I had rather crack my sinews, break my back,
Than you should such dishonour undergo,
While I sit lazy by.

MIRA. It would become me
As well as it does you: and I should do it
With much more ease; for my good will is to it,
And yours it is against⁹.

PRO. Poor worm! thou art infected;
This visitation shews it.

MIRA. You look wearily.

FER. No, noble mistress; 'tis fresh morning with
me,
When you are by at night¹. I do beseech you,
(Chiefly, that I might set it in my prayers,)
What is your name?

MIRA. Miranda:—O my father,
I have broke your hest² to say so!

FER. Admir'd Miranda
Indeed, the top of admiration; worth
What's dearest to the world! Full many a lady

⁹ And yours against.] The old copy reads:—

“And yours *it is* against.”

By the advice of Dr. Farmer I have omitted the words in Italicks, as they are needless to the sense of the passage, and would have rendered the hemistich too long to join with its successor in making a regular verse. STEEVENS.

¹ — 'tis fresh morning with me,

When you are by at NIGHT.]

Tu mihi curarum requies, *tu nocte* vel atrâ
Lumen——.

Tibul. lib. iv. el. xiii. MALONE.

² — hest —] For *behest*; i. e. command. So before, Act I.
Sc. II.:

“Refusing her grand *hests* ——.” STEEVENS.

I have ey'd with best regard ; and many a time
 The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
 Brought my too diligent ear : for several virtues
 Have I lik'd several women ; never any
 With so full soul, but some defect in her
 Did quarrel with the noblest grace she ow'd,
 And put it to the foil : But you, O you,
 So perfect, and so peerless, are created
 Of every creature's best ³.

MIRA. I do not know
 One of my sex ; no woman's face remember,
 Save, from my glass, mine own ; nor have I seen
 More that I may call men, than you, good friend,
 And my dear father : how features are abroad,
 I am skill-less of ; but, by my modesty,
 (The jewel in my dower,) I would not wish
 Any companion in the world but you ;
 Nor can imagination form a shape,

³ Of every creature's best.] Alluding to the picture of Venus
 by Apelles. JOHNSON.

Had Shakspeare availed himself of this elegant circumstance,
 he would scarcely have said, " of every *creature's* best," because
 such a phrase includes the component parts of the brute creation.
 Had he been thinking on the judicious selection made by the Gre-
 cian Artist, he would rather have expressed his meaning by " every
woman's," or " every *beauty's* best." Perhaps he had only in his
 thoughts a fable related by Sir Phillip Sidney in the third book of
 his Arcadia. The beasts obtained permission from Jupiter to
 make themselves a King ; and accordingly created one *of every*
creature's best :

" Full glad they were, and tooke the naked sprite,

" Which straight the earth yclothed in his clay :

" The lyon heart ; the ounce gave active might ;

" The horse good shape ; the sparrow lust to play ;

" Nightingale voice, entising songs to say, &c. &c.

" Thus *man* was made ; thus *man* their lord became."

In the 1st book of the Arcadia, a similar praise is also bestowed
 by a lover on his mistress :

" She is her selfe of *best things the collection*."

STEEVENS,

Besides yourself, to like of : But I prattle
 Something too wildly, and my father's precepts
 I therein do forget⁴.

FER. I am, in my condition,
 A prince, Miranda ; I do think, a king ;
 (I would, not so !) and would no more endure
 This wooden slavery, than to suffer⁵
 The flesh-fly blow my mouth⁶.—Hear my soul
 speak ;—

The very instant that I saw you, did
 My heart fly to your service ; there resides,
 To make me slave to it ; and for your sake,
 Am I this patient log-man.

⁴ Therein forget.] The old copy, in contempt of metre, reads
 —“ *I therein do forget.*” STEEVENS.

⁵ — than I WOULD suffer, &c.] The old copy reads—*Than to*
suffer. The emendation is Mr. Pope's STEEVENS.

The reading of the old copy is right, however ungrammatical.
 So, in *All's Well that Ends Well*: “ No more of this, Helena, go
 to, no more ; lest it be rather thought you affect a sorrow, *than to*
have.”

See vol. x. p. 311, n. 8.

Again, in *Measure for Measure* :

“ Admit ——— that there were

“ No other way to save him, but that either

“ You must *lay down* the treasures of your body,

“ To this supposed, or else *to let* him suffer,

“ What would you do ?” MALONE.

The defective metre shows that some corruption had happened
 in the present instance. I receive no deviations from established
 grammar, on the single authority of the folio. STEEVENS.

⁶ The flesh-fly BLOW my mouth.] i. e. swell and inflame my
 mouth. So, in *Antony and Cleopatra* :

“ Here is a vent of blood and something *blown.*”

Again, *ibid.* :

“ ——— and let the water-*flies*

“ *Blow* me into abhorring.” MALONE.

I believe Mr. Malone is mistaken. To *blow*, as it stands in
 the text, means ‘ the act of a fly by which she lodges eggs in
 flesh.’ So, in Chapman's version of the *Iliad* :

“ ——— I much fear, lest with the *blows* of flies

“ His brass-inflicted wounds are fill'd—” STEEVENS.

MIRA. Do you love me ?

FER. O heaven, O earth, bear witness to this sound,

And crown what I profess with kind event,
If I speak true ; if hollowly, invert
What best is boded me, to mischief ! I,
Beyond all limit of what else i' the world⁷,
Do love, prize, honour you.

MIRA. I am a fool,
To weep at what I am glad of⁸.

PRO. Fair encounter
Of two most rare affections ! Heavens rain grace
On that which breeds between them !

FER. Wherefore weep you ?

MIRA. At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give ; and much less take,
What I shall die to want : But this is trifling ;
And all the more it seeks⁹ to hide itself,
The bigger bulk it shews. Hence, bashful cunning !
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence !
I am your wife¹, if you will marry me ;

7 — of WHAT ELSE i' the world.] i. e. of *ought* else ; of what-soever else there is in the world. I once thought we should read — *ought* else. But the old copy is right. So, in King Henry VI. Part III:

“ With promise of his sister and *what else*,
“ To strengthen and support king Edward's place.”

MALONE.

⁸ I am a fool,

To weep at what I am glad of.] This is one of those touches of nature that distinguish Shakspeare from all other writers. It was necessary in support of the character of Miranda, to make her appear unconscious that excess of sorrow and excess of joy find alike their relief from tears ; and as this is the first time that consummate pleasure had made any near approaches to her heart, she calls such a seeming contradictory expression of it, *folly*.

The same thought occurs in Romeo and Juliet :

“ Back, foolish tears, back, to your native spring !

“ Your tributary drops belong to woe,

“ Which you mistaking offer up to joy.” STEEVENS.

⁹ — it seeks —] i. e. my affection seeks. MALONE.

If not, I'll die your maid : to be your fellow²
 You may deny me ; but I'll be your servant,
 Whether you will or no.

FER. My mistress, dearest,
 And I thus humble ever.

MIRA. My husband then ?

FER. Ay, with a heart as willing
 As bondage e'er of freedom : here's my hand.

MIRA. And mine, with my heart in't³ : And now
 farewell,
 Till half an hour hence.

FER. A thousand ! thousand !
 [*Exeunt FER. and MIR.*]

PRO. So glad of this as they, I cannot be,
 Who are surpriz'd with all⁴ ; but my rejoicing

¹ I am your wife, &c.]

Si tibi non cordi fuerant connubia nostra.
 Attamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes,
 Quæ tibi jucundo famularer serva labore ;
 Candida permulcens liquidis vestigia lymphis,
 Purpureæve tuum consternens veste cubile.

Catul. 62. MALONE.

² —your fellow —] i. e. companion. STEEVENS.

³ —here's my hand.

Miran. And mine, with my heart in't:] It is still customary in the west of England, when the conditions of a bargain are agreed upon, for the parties to ratify it by joining their hands, and at the same time for the purchaser to give an earnest. To this practice the poet alludes. So, in *The Winter's Tale*:

“ Ere I could make thee open thy white hand,
 “ And clap thyself my love : then didst thou utter
 “ *I am yours for ever.*”

And again, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* :

“ *Pro.* Why then we'll make exchange ; here, take you this.

“ *Jul.* And seal the bargain with a holy kiss.

“ *Pro.* Here is my hand for my true constancy.” HENLEY.

⁴ So glad of this as they, I cannot be,

Who are surpriz'd WITH ALL ;] The sense might be clearer, were we to make a slight transposition :

“ So glad of this as they, who are surpriz'd

“ With all, I cannot be—”

At nothing can be more. I'll to my book;
 For yet, ere supper time, must I perform
 Much business appertaining. [Exit.

SCENE II.

Another part of the Island.

Enter STEPHANO and TRINCULO; CALIBAN following with a bottle.

STE. Tell not me;—when the butt is out, we will drink water; not a drop before: therefore bear up, and board 'em⁵: Servant-monster, drink to me.

TRIN. Servant-monster? the folly of this island! They say, there's but five upon this isle: we are three of them; if the other two be brained like us, the state totters⁶.

STE. Drink, servant-monster, when I bid thee; thy eyes are almost set in thy head.

TRIN. Where should they be set else? he were a brave monster indeed, if they were set in his tail⁷.

Perhaps, however, more consonantly with ancient language, we should join two of the words together, and read—

“Who are surpriz'd *withal*.” STEEVENS.

⁵ —bear up, and board 'em:] A metaphor alluding to a chace at sea. SIR J. HAWKINS.

⁶ —if the other two be brained like us, the state totters.] We meet with a similar idea in Antony and Cleopatra: “He bears the third part of the world.”—“The third part then is drunk.” STEEVENS.

⁷ —he were a brave monster indeed, if they were set in his tail.] I believe this to be an allusion to a story that is met with in Stowe, and other writers of the time. It seems in the year 1574, a whale was thrown ashore near Ramsgate: “A monstrous

STE. My man-monster hath drowned his tongue in sack : for my part, the sea cannot drown me : I swam⁸, ere I could recover the shore, five-and-thirty leagues, off and on, by this light.—Thou shalt be my lieutenant, monster, or my standard.

TRIN. Your lieutenant, if you list ; he's no standard⁹.

STE. We'll not run, monsieur monster.

TRIN. Nor go neither : but you'll lie, like dogs ; and yet say nothing neither.

STE. Moon-calf, speak once in thy life, if thou beest a good moon-calf.

CAL. How does thy honour ? Let me lick thy shoe :

I'll not serve him, he is not valiant.

TRIN. Thou liest, most ignorant monster ; I am in case to juggle a constable : Why, thou deboshed fish thou¹, was there ever man a coward, that hath

fish (says the chronicler) but not so monstrous as some reported—for his eyes were in his head, and not in his back."

Summary, 1575, p. 562. FARMER.

⁸ — I swam, &c.] This play was not published till 1623, Albumazar made its appearance in 1614, and has a passage relative to the escape of a sailor yet more incredible. Perhaps, in both instances, a sneer was meant at the Voyages of Ferdinando Mendez Pinto, or the exaggerated accounts of other lying travellers :

" ——— five days I was under water : and at length

" Got up and spread myself upon a chest,

" Rowing with arms, and steering with my feet :

" And thus in five days more got land." Act III. Sc. V.

STEEVENS.

⁹ — or my STANDARD.

Trin. Your lieutenant, if you list ; he's no STANDARD.] Meaning, he is so much intoxicated, as not to be able to stand. The quibble between *standard*, an ensign, and *standard*, a fruit-tree that grows without support, is evident. STEEVENS.

¹ — thou DEBOSHED fish thou.] I met with this word, which I suppose to be the same as *debauched* in Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, 1634 :

" ——— See, your house be stor'd

" With the *deboishest* roarers in this city."

drunk so much sack as I to-day ? Wilt thou tell a monstrous lie, being but half a fish, and half a monster ?

CAL. Lo, how he mocks me ! wilt thou let him, my lord ?

TRIN. Lord, quoth he !—that a monster should be such a natural !

CAL. Lo, lo, again ! bite him to death, I pr'ythee.

STE. Trinculo, keep a good tongue in your head ; if you prove a mutineer, the next tree—The poor monster's my subject, and he shall not suffer indignity.

CAL. I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleas'd to hearken once again to the suit I made thee² ?

STE. Marry will I : kneel and repeat it ; I will stand, and so shall Trinculo.

Enter ARIEL, invisible.

CAL. As I told thee before, I am subject to a

Again, in Monsieur Thomas, 1639 :

“ ——— saucy fellows

“ *Deboshed* and daily drunkards.”

The substantive occurs in Partheneia Sacra, 1633 :

“ — A hater of men, rather than the *deboishments* of their manners.”

When the word was first adopted from the French language, it appears to have been spelt according to the pronunciation, and therefore wrongly ; but ever since it has been spelt right, it has been uttered with equal impropriety. STEEVENS.

² I thank my noble lord. Wilt thou be pleas'd

To hearken once again the suit I made thee ?] The old copy which erroneously prints this and other of Caliban's speeches as prose, reads—

“ ——— to the suit I made thee ;”

But the elliptical mode of expression in the text, has already occurred in the second scene of the first act of this play :

“ ——— being an enemy

“ To me inveterate, *hearkens my brother's suit.*”

STEEVENS.

tyrant³; a sorcerer, that by his cunning hath cheated me of this island.

ARI. Thou liest.

CAL. Thou liest, thou jesting monkey, thou ;
I would, my valiant master would destroy thee :
I do not lie.

STE. Trinculo, if you trouble him any more in his tale, by this hand, I will supplant some of your teeth.

TRIN. Why, I said nothing.

STE. Mum then, and no more.—[*To CALIBAN.*]
Proceed.

CAL. I say by sorcery he got this isle ;
From me he got it. If thy greatness will
Revenge it on him—for, I know, thou dar'st ;
But this thing dare not.

STE. That's most certain.

CAL. Thou shalt be lord of it, and I'll serve thee.

STE. How now shall this be compassed ? Can'st thou bring me to the party ?

CAL. Yea, yea, my lord ; I'll yield him thee
asleep,
Where thou may'st knock a nail into his head⁴.

ARI. Thou liest, thou canst not.

³ — a TYRANT ;] *Tyrant* is here employed as a trisyllable..

STEEVENS.

Mr. Steevens, after frequently ridiculing the notion that *hour*, and other words of that description, can be pronounced as trisyllables, is willing to make one of *tyrant*, in order to force Caliban's speeches into metre. MALONE.

⁴ — I'll yield him thee ASLEEP,

Where thou may'st KNOCK A NAIL INTO HIS HEAD.] Perhaps Shakspeare caught this idea from the 4th chapter of Judges, v. 21 : " Then Jael, Heber's wife, took a *nail* of the tent, and took an hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and *smote the nail into his temples*, &c. : *for he was fast asleep*," &c. STEEVENS.

CAL. What a pied ninny's this^s? Thou scurvy patch!—

I do beseech thy greatness, give him blows,
And take his bottle from him: when that's
gone,
He shall drink nought but brine; for I'll not shew
him

Where the quick freshes are.

STE. Trinculo, run into no further danger: interrupt the monster one word further, and, by this hand, I'll turn my mercy out of doors, and make a stock-fish of thee.

TRIN. Why, what did I? I did nothing; I'll go further off.

STE. Didst thou not say, he lied?

ARI. Thou liest.

STE. Do I so? take thou that. [*Strikes him.*] As you like this, give me the lie another time.

TRIN. I did not give the lie:—Out o' your wits, and hearing too?—A pox o' your bottle! this can sack, and drinking do.—A murrain on your monster, and the devil take your fingers!

CAL. Ha, ha, ha!

STE. Now, forward with your tale. Pr'ythee stand further off.

^s What a pied ninny's this?] It should be remembered that Trinculo is no *sailor*, but a *jester*; and is so called in the ancient *dramatis personæ*. He therefore wears the party-coloured dress of one of these characters. See fig. xii. in the plate annexed to the First Part of King Henry IV. and Mr. Tollet's explanation of it. So, in the Devil's Law Case, 1623:

"Unless I wear a *pied* fool's coat." STEEVENS.

Dr. Johnson observes, that Caliban could have no knowledge of the striped coat usually worn by fools; and would therefore transfer this speech to Stephano. But though *Caliban* might not know this circumstance, Shakspeare did. Surely he who has given to all countries and all ages the manners of his own, might forget himself here, as well as in other places. MALONE.

CAL. Beat him enough : after a little time,
I'll beat him too.

STE. Stand further.—Come, proceed.

CAL. Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
I' the afternoon to sleep : there thou may'st brain
him,

Having first seiz'd his books ; or with a log
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,
Or cut his wezand with thy knife : Remember,
First to possess his books ; for without them
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command⁶ : They all do hate him,

⁶ — Remember,

First to possess his BOOKS ; for without them

He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not

One SPIRIT TO COMMAND:] Milton, in his *Masque at Ludlow Castle*, seems to have caught a hint from the foregoing passage :

“ Oh, ye mistook ; ye should have snatch'd his wand,

“ And bound him fast ; without his rod revers'd,

“ And backward mutters of dis severing power,

“ We cannot free the lady.”—— STEEVENS.

In a former scene Prospero says,

“ ——— I'll to my *book* ;

“ For yet, ere supper time, must I perform

“ Much business appertaining.”

Again, in Act V. :

“ And deeper than did ever plummet sound,

“ I'll drown my *book*.”

In the old romances the sorcerer is always furnished with a *book*, by reading certain parts of which he is enabled to summon to his aid what dæmons or spirits he has occasion to employ. When he is deprived of his book, his power ceases. Our author might have observed this circumstance much insisted on in the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boyardo, (of which, as the Rev. Mr. Bowle informs me, the first three cantos were translated and published in 1598,) and also in Harrington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, 1591.

A few lines from the former of these works may prove the best illustration of the passage before us.

Angelica, by the aid of Argalia, having bound the enchanter Malagigi :

As rootedly as I : Burn but his books ;
 He has brave utensils, (for so he calls them,) Which, when he has a house, he'll deck withal.
 And that most deeply to consider, is
 The beauty of his daughter ; he himself
 Calls her a non-pareil : I never saw a woman ⁷,
 But only Sycorax my dam, and she ;
 But she as far surpasseth Sycorax,
 As great'st does least.

STE. Is it so brave a lass ?

CAL. Ay, lord ; she will become thy bed, I warrant,

And bring thee forth brave brood.

STE. Monster, I will kill this man : his daughter and I will be king and queen ; (save our graces !) and Trinculo and thyself shall be viceroys :—Dost thou like the plot, Trinculo ?

TRIN. Excellent.

STE. Give me thy hand ; I am sorry I beat thee : but, while thou livest, keep a good tongue in thy head.

CAL. Within this half hour will he be asleep ; Wilt thou destroy him then ?

“ The damsel searcheth forthwith in his breast,
 “ And there the damned *booke* she straightway founde,
 “ Which circles strange and shapes of fiendes exprest ;
 “ No sooner she some wordes therein did sound,
 “ And opened had some damned leaves unblest,
 “ But *spirits* of th' ayre, earth, sea, came out of hand,
 “ Crying aloude, what is't you us *command*?” MALONE.

⁷ Calls her a non-pareil : I ne'er saw woman,] The old copy reads :

“ Calls her a non-pareil : I *never* saw a woman.” But this verse, being too long by a foot, Hamner judiciously gave it as it stands in my text (I *ne'er* saw woman).

By means as innocent, the versification of Shakspeare has, I hope, in many instances been restored. The temerity of some critics had too long imposed severe restraints on their successors.

STEEVENS.

STE. Ay, on mine honour.

ARI. This will I tell my master.

CAL. Thou mak'st me merry: I am full of pleasure;

Let us be jocund: Will you troll the catch⁸
You taught me but while-ere?

STE. At thy request, monster, I will do reason,
any reason: Come on, Trinculo, let us sing.

[Sings.

*Flout 'em, and skout 'em; and skout 'em, and
flout 'em;*

Thought is free.

CAL. That's not the tune.

[ARIEL plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.

STE. What is this same?

TRIN. This is the tune of our catch, played by
the picture of No-body⁹.

STE. If thou beest a man, shew thyself in thy
likeness: if thou beest a devil, take't as thou list.

TRIN. O, forgive me my sins!

STE. He that dies, pays all debts: I defy thee:—
Mercy upon us!

⁸ Will you TROLL the catch —] Ben Jonson uses the word in Every Man in his Humour:

"If he read this with patience, I'll *troul* ballads."

Again, in the Cobler's Prophecy, 1594:

"A fellow that will *troul* it off with tongue.

"Faith, you shall hear me *troll* it after my fashion."

To *troll* a catch, I suppose, is to dismiss it *trippingly from the tongue*. STEEVENS.

⁹ This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture of No-body.] A ridiculous figure, sometimes represented on signs. Westward for Smelts, a book which our author appears to have read, was printed for John Trundle in Barbican, at the sign of the *No-body*. MALONE.

The allusion is here to the print of *No-body*, as prefixed to the anonymous comedy of "No-body, and Some-body;" without date, but printed before the year 1600. REED.

CAL. Art thou afeard¹ ?

STE. No, monster, not I.

CAL. Be not afeard ; the isle is full of noises,
Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt
not.

Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears ; and sometime voices,
That, if I then had wak'd after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again : and then, in dreaming,
The clouds, methought, would open, and shew
riches

Ready to drop upon me ; that, when I wak'd,
I cry'd to dream again.

STE. This will prove a brave kingdom to me,
where I shall have my music for nothing.

CAL. When Prospero is destroyed.

STE. That shall be by and by : I remember the
story.

TRIN. The sound is going away : let's follow it,
and after, do our work.

STE. Lead, monster ; we'll follow.—I would, I
could see this taborer² : he lays it on.

TRIN. Wilt come ? I'll follow, Stephano³.

[*Exeunt.*

¹ — afeard?] Thus the old copy.—*To affear* is an obsolete verb, with the same meaning as to *affray*.

So, in the Shipman's Tale of Chaucer, v. 13,330 :

“ This wif was not *aferde* ne *affraide*.”

Between *aferde* and *affraide*, in the time of Chaucer, there might have been some nice distinction which is at present lost.

STEEVENS.

² I would, I could see this TABORER:] Several of the incidents in this scene, viz.—Ariel's mimicry of Trinculo—the tune played on the *tabor*,—and Caliban's description of the twangling instruments, &c.—might have been borrowed from Marco Paolo, the old Venetian voyager ; who in lib. i. ch. 44, describing the desert of Lop in Asia, says—“ *Audiuntur ibi voces dæmonum, &c. voces fingentes eorum quos comitari se putant. Audiuntur.*

SCENE III.

Another part of the Island.

Enter ALONSO, SEBASTIAN, ANTONIO, GONZALO, ADRIAN, FRANCISCO, and others.

GON. By'r lakin⁴, I can go no further, sir ;
My old bones ake : here's a maze trod, indeed,
Through forth-rights, and meanders ! by your patience,
I needs must rest me.

ALON. Old lord, I cannot blame thee,
Who am myself attach'd with weariness,
To the dulling of my spirits ; sit down, and rest.
Even here I will put off my hope, and keep it
No longer for my flatterer : he is drown'd,

interdum in aere concentus musicorum instrumentorum," &c.
This passage was rendered accessible to Shakspeare by an English translation entitled *The most noble and famous Trauels of Marcus Paulus, one of the Nobilitie of the State of Venice, &c.* bl. l. 4to. 1579, by John Frampton: "— You shall heare in the ayre the sound of *tabers and other instruments*, to put the trauelers in feare, &c. by euill spirites that make these soundes, and also do *call diuerse of the trauellers by their names*, &c. ch. 36, p. 32.

To some of these circumstances Milton also alludes :

" — calling shapes, and beckoning shadows dire,
" And aery tongues that syllable men's names,
" On sands, and shores, and desert wildernesses."

STEEVENS.

³ Wilt come? I'll follow, Stephano.] The first words are addressed to Caliban, who, vexed at the folly of his new companions idly running after the musick, while they ought only to have attended to the main point, the dispatching Prospero, seems, for some little time, to have staid behind. HEATH.

The words—"Wilt come?" should be added to Stephano's speech. *I'll follow*, is Trinculo's answer. RITSON.

⁴ *By'r lakin*,] i. e. The diminutive only of *our lady*, i. e. ladykin. STEEVENS.

Whom thus we stray to find ; and the sea mocks
Our frustrate search⁵ on land : Well let him go.

ANT. I am right glad that he's so out of hope.

[*Aside to SEBASTIAN.*

Do not, for one repulse, forego the purpose
That you resolv'd to effect.

SEB. The next advantage
Will we take thoroughly.

ANT. Let it be to-night ;
For, now they are oppress'd with travel, they
Will not, nor cannot, use such vigilance,
As when they are fresh.

SEB. I say, to-night : no more.

Solemn and strange musick ; and PROSPERO above, invisible. Enter several strange Shapes, bringing in a banquet ; they dance about it with gentle actions of salutation ; and, inviting the King, &c. to eat, they depart.

ALON. What harmony is this ? my good friends,
hark !

GON. Marvellous sweet musick !

ALON. Give us kind keepers, heavens ! What
were these ?

SEB. A living drollery⁶ : Now I will believe,
That there are unicorns ; that, in Arabia

⁵ OUR frustrate SEARCH—] *Frustrate*, for *frustrated*. So, in Chapman's translation of Homer's Hymn to Apollo :

" ——— some God hath fill'd

" Our *frustrate* sails, defeating what we will'd."

STEEVENS.

⁶ A living DROLLERY:] Shows, called *drolleries*, were in Shakspeare's time performed by puppets only. From these our modern *drolls*, exhibited at fairs, &c. took their name. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Valentinian* :

" I had rather make a *drollery* till thirty." STEEVENS.

" A living drollery," i. e. a drollery not represented by wooden machines, but by personages who are alive. MALONE.

There is one tree, the phœnix' throne⁷; one phœnix

At this hour reigning there.

Ant.

I'll believe both;

And what does else want credit, come to me,
And I'll be sworn 'tis true: Travellers ne'er did lie⁸,
Though fools at home condemn them.

Gon.

If in Naples

I should report this now, would they believe me?

If I should say, I saw such islanders⁹,

(For, certes¹, these are people of the island,)

Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet, note,

⁷ — one tree, the PHŒNIX' throne;] For this idea, our author might have been indebted to Phil. Holland's Translation of Pliny, b. xiii. chap. 4: "I myself verily have heard straunge things of this kind of tree; and namely in regard of the bird *Phœnix*, which is supposed to have taken that name of this date tree [called in Greek, *φοινίξ*]; for it was assured unto me, that the said bird died with that tree, and revived of itselfe as the tree sprung again." STEEVENS.

Again, in one of our author's poems, prefixed to Chester's Rosalynd, for which see the end of vol. xx.:

"Let the bird of loudest lay,

"On the *sole* Arabian tree," &c.

Our poet had probably Lyly's *Euphues*, and his England, particularly in his thoughts: signat. Q 3.—"As there is but one phœnix in the world, so is there but *one tree* in Arabia wherein she buildeth." See also, Florio's Italian Dictionary, 1598: "*Rasin*, a tree in Arabia, whereof there is but *one* found, and upon it the phœnix sits." MALONE.

⁸ And I'll be sworn 'TIS TRUE: Travellers ne'er did lie,] I suppose this redundant line originally stood thus:

"And I'll be sworn *to't*: Travellers ne'er did lie—."

Hammer reads, as plausibly:

"And I'll be sworn 'tis true. Travellers ne'er *lied*."

STEEVENS.

⁹ — such ISLANDERS,] The old copy has *islands*. The emendation was made by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

¹ For, CERTES, &c.] *Certes* is an obsolete word, signifying *certainly*. So, in *Othello*:

"—— *certes*, says he,

"I have already chose my officer." STEEVENS.

Their manners are more gentle, kind², than of
Our human generation you shall find
Many, nay, almost any.

PRO.

Honest lord,

Thou hast said well ; for some of you there present,
Are worse than devils. [Aside.

ALON.

I cannot too much muse³,
Such shapes, such gesture, and such sound, express-
ing

(Although they want the use of tongue,) a kind
Of excellent dumb discourse.

PRO.

Praise in departing⁴.

[Aside.

FRAN. They vanish'd strangely.

SEB.

No matter, since
They have left their viands behind ; for we have
stomachs.—

Will't please you taste of what is here ?

ALON.

Not I.

² Their manners are more GENTLE-KIND,] The old copy has —“ gentle, kind—.” I read (in conformity to a practice of our author, who delights in such compound epithets, of which the first adjective is to be considered as an adverb,) *gentle-kind*. Thus, in King Richard III. we have *childish-foolish*, *senseless-obstinate*, and *mortal-staring*. STEEVENS.

³ — too much MUSE.] To *muse*, in ancient language, is to admire, to wonder.

So, in Macbeth :

“ Do not *muse* at me, my most worthy friends.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ Praise in departing.] i. e. Do not praise your entertainment too soon, lest you should have reason to retract your commendation. It is a proverbial saying.

So, in The Two angry Women of Abingdon, 1599 :

“ And so she doth ; but *praise* your luck at *parting*.”

Again, in Tom Tyler and his Wife, 1661 :

“ Now *praise* at thy *parting*.”

Stephen Gosson, in his pamphlet entitled, *Playes confuted in five Actions*, &c. (no date) acknowledges himself to have been the author of a morality called *Praise at Parting*. STEEVENS.

GON. Faith, sir, you need not fear: When we
 were boys,
 Who would believe that there were mountaineers⁵,
 Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at
 them
 Wallets of flesh? or that there were such men,
 Whose heads stood in their breasts⁶? which now
 we find,
 Each putter-out of one for five⁷, will bring us
 Good warrant of.

⁵ — that there were MOUNTAINEERS, &c.] Whoever is curious to know the particulars relative to these *mountaineers*, may consult Maundeville's Travels, printed in 1503, by Wynken de Worde; but it is yet a known truth that the inhabitants of the Alps have been long accustomed to such excrescences or tumours.

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? STEEVENS.

⁶ — men,

Whose heads stood in their breasts?] Our author might have had this intelligence likewise from the translation of Pliny, b. v. chap. 8: "The Blemmyi, by report, have no heads, but mouth and eies both in their breasts." STEEVENS.

Or he might have had it from Hackluyt's Voyages, 1598: "On that branch which is called *Caora* are a nation of people, whose heads appear not above their shoulders. They are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts." MALONE.

See the plate at the end of Othello. BOSWELL.

⁷ Each putter-out, &c.] The ancient custom here alluded to was this. In this age of travelling, it was a practice with those who engaged in long and hazardous expeditions, to place out a sum of money on condition of receiving great interest for it at their return home. So, Puntarvolo, (it is Theobald's quotation,) in Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour: "I do intend, this year of jubilee coming on, to travel; and (because I will not altogether go upon expence) I am determined to put some *five* thousand pound, to be paid me *five* for *one*, upon the return of my wife, myself, and my dog, from the Turk's court in Constantinople." 1

To this instance I may add another from The Ball, a comedy, by Chapman and Shirley, 1639:

"I did most politickly disburse my sums

"To have *five* for *one* at my return from Venice."

Again, in Amends for Ladies, 1639:

"I would I had *put out* something upon my return;

"I had as lieve be at the *Bermoothes*."

ALON. I will stand to, and feed,
Although my last : no matter, since I feel
The best is past ⁸ :—Brother, my lord the duke,
Stand too, and do as we.

*Thunder and lightning. Enter ARIEL like a harpy⁹ ;
claps his wings upon the table, and, with a quaint
device, the banquet vanishes¹.*

ARI. You are three men of sin, whom destiny

“ — *on* five for one ” means ‘on the terms of five for one.’ So, in Barnaby Riche’s *Faults, and Nothing but Faults*, 1607 :
“ — those whipsters, that having spent the greatest part of their
patrimony in prodigality, will give out the rest of their stocke, *to
be paid two or three for one*, upon their return from Rome,” &c. &c.

STEEVENS.

“ Each putter-out *on* five for one,] The old copy has :

“ — of five for one.”

I believe the words were only transposed, and that the author
wrote, as I have corrected it :

“ Each putter-out of *one for five*.”

So, in *The Scourge of Folly*, by J. Davies of Hereford, printed
about the year 1611 :

“ Sir Solus straight will travel, as they say,

“ And *gives out one for three*, when home comes he.”

It appears from Moryson’s *Itinerary*, 1617, Part I. p. 198, that
“ this custom of giving out money upon these adventures was first
used in court, and among noblemen ; ” and that some years be-
fore his book was published, “ bankerouts, stage-players, and men
of base condition had drawn it into contempt,” by undertaking
journeys merely for gain upon their return. MALONE.

⁸ I will stand to, and feed,

Although my last : no matter, since I feel

The best is past :] I cannot but think that this passage was
intended to be in a rhyme, and should be printed thus :

“ I will stand to and feed ; although my last,

“ No matter, since I feel the best is past.” M. MASON.

⁹ *Enter Ariel like a harpy ; &c.*] This circumstance is taken
from the third book of the *Æneid* as translated by Phaer, bl. l. 4to.
1558 :

“ — fast to meate we fall.

“ But sodenly from down the hills with grisly fall to syght,

“ The *harpies* come, and *beating wings* with great noys out
thei shright,

“ And at our meate they *snatch* ; and with their clawes,” &c.
Milton, *Parad. Reg.* b. ii. has adopted the same imagery :

(That hath to instrument this lower world²,
 And what is in't,) the never-surfeited sea
 Hath caused to belch up; and on this island
 Where man doth not inhabit; you 'mongst men
 Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad;
 [Seeing ALON. SEB. &c. draw their swords.
 And even with such like valour, men hang and
 drown
 Their proper selves. You fools! I and my fellows
 Are ministers of fate; the elements
 Of whom your swords are temper'd, may as well
 Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at stabs
 Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
 One dowle that's in my plume³; my fellow-
 ministers

“ — with that

“ Both table and provisions vanish'd quite,

“ With sound of harpies' wings, and talons heard.”

STEEVENS.

¹ — and, with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes.] Though I will not undertake to prove that all the culinary pantomimes exhibited in France and Italy were known and imitated in this kingdom, I may observe that flying, rising, and descending services were to be found at entertainments given by the Duke of Burgundy, &c. in 1453, and by the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1600, &c. See M. Le Grand D'Aussi's *Histoire de la vie Privée des François*, vol. iii. p. 294, &c. Examples, therefore, of machinery similar to that of Shakspeare in the present instance, were to be met with, and perhaps had been adopted on the stage, as well as at public festivals here in England. See my note on *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, vol. viii. p. 184, from whence it appears that a striking conceit in an entertainment given by the Vidam of Chartres, had been transferred to another feast prepared in England as a compliment to Prince Alasco, 1583. STEEVENS.

² That hath to INSTRUMENT this lower world, &c.] i. e. that makes use of this world, and every thing in it, as its *instruments* to bring about its ends. STEEVENS.

³ One DOWLE that's in my PLUME;] The old copy exhibits the passage thus:

“ One dowle that's in my plumbe.” Corrected by Mr. Rowe. Bailey, in his Dictionary, says, that *dowle* is a *feather*, or rather the single particles of the down.

Are like invulnerable⁴ : if you could hurt,
 Your swords are now too massy for your strengths,
 And will not be uplifted : But, remember,
 (For that's my business to you,) that you three
 From Milan did supplant good Prospero ;
 Expos'd unto the sea, which hath requit it,
 Him, and his innocent child : for which foul deed
 The powers, delaying, not forgetting, have
 Incens'd the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures,

Since the first appearance of this edition, my very industrious and learned correspondent, Mr. Tollet, of Betley, in Staffordshire, has enabled me to retract a too hasty censure on Bailey, to whom we were long indebted for our only English Dictionary. In a small book, entitled *Humane Industry : or, A History of most Manual Arts*, printed in 1661, page 93, is the following passage : "The wool-bearing trees in *Æthiopia*, which Virgil speaks of, and the *Eriophori Arbores* in Theophrastus, are not such trees as have a certain wool or *dowl* upon the outside of them, as the small cotton ; but short trees that bear a ball upon the top, pregnant with wool, which the Syrians call Cott, the Græcians Gossypium, the Italians Bombagio, and we Bombase."—"There is a certain shell-fish in the sea, called Pinna, that bears a mossy *dowl*, or wool, whereof cloth was spun and made."—Again, p. 95, "*Trichitis*, or the hayrie stone, by some Greek authors, and *Alumen plumaceum*, or *downy alum*, by the Latinists : this hair or *dowl* is spun into thread, and weaved into cloth." I have since discovered the same word in *The Ploughman's Tale*, erroneously attributed to Chaucer, v. 3202 :

"And swore by cock 'is herte and blode,

"He would tere him every *doule*." STEEVENS.

Cole in his *Latin Dictionary*, 1679, interprets "young *dowle*," by *lanugo*. MALONE.

⁴ ——— the elements

Of whom your *swords* are temper'd, may as well
 Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at stabs
 Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
 One *dowle* that's in my plume ; my fellow ministers
 Are like invulnerable :] So, in Phaer's *Virgil*, 1573 :

"Their *swords* by them they laid—

"And on the filthy birds they beat—

"But *fethers* none do from them fal, nor *wound* for strok
 doth bleed,

"Nor force of weapons hurt them can." RITSON.

Against your peace : Thee, of thy son, Alonso,
 They have bereft ; and do pronounce by me,
 Ling'ring perdition (worse than any death
 Can be at once,) shall step by step attend
 You, and your ways ; whose wraths to guard you
 from

(Which here, in this most desolate isle, else falls
 Upon your heads,) is nothing, but heart's sorrow,
 And a clear life ⁵ ensuing ⁶.

*He vanishes in thunder : then, to soft musick, enter
 the Shapes again, and dance with mops and mowes⁷,
 and carry out the table.*

PRO. [*Aside.*] Bravely the figure of this harpy
 hast thou

Perform'd, my Ariel ; a grace it had, devouring :
 Of my instruction hast thou nothing 'bated,
 In what thou hadst to say : so, with good life ⁸,

⁵ — CLEAR life —] Pure, blameless, innocent. JOHNSON.
 So, in Timon : " — roots you *clear* heavens." STEEVENS.

⁶ — is nothing, but heart's sorrow,

And a clear life ensuing.] The meaning, which is somewhat
 obscured by the expression, is,—"a miserable fate, which nothing
 but contrition and amendment of life can avert." MALONE.

⁷ — with MOPS and MOWES —] So, in King Lear :

" — and Flibbertigibbet of *mopping* and *mowing*."

STEEVENS.

The old copy, by a manifest error of the press, reads—with
mocks. So afterwards : " Will be here with *mop* and *mowe*."

MALONE.

To *mock* and to *mowe*, seem to have had a meaning somewhat
 similar ; i. e. to insult, by making mouths, or wry faces.

STEEVENS.

⁸ — with GOOD LIFE.] *With good life* may mean, 'with ex-
 act presentation of their several characters, with observation
 strange of their particular and distinct parts.' So we say, 'he
 acted to the *life*.' JOHNSON.

Thus in the 6th canto of the Barons' Wars, by Drayton :

" Done for the last with such exceeding *life*,

" As art therein with nature seem'd at strife."

Again, in our author's King Henry VIII. Act I. Sc. I. :

ALON. O, it is monstrous! monstrous!
 Methought, the billows spoke, and told me of it;
 The winds did sing it to me; and the thunder,
 That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounc'd
 The name of Prosper; it did bass my trespass¹.
 Therefore my son i' the ooze is bedded; and
 I'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sounded,
 And with him there lie mudded². [*Exit.*]

SEB. But one fiend at a time,
 I'll fight their legions o'er.

ANT. I'll be thy second.
 [*Exeunt SEB. and ANT.*]

GOX. All three of them are desperate; their great
 guilt,
 Like poison given³ to work a great time after,
 Now 'gins to bite the spirits:—I do beseech you
 That are of suppler joints, follow them swiftly,

¹ — *BASS* my trespass.] The deep pipe told it me in a rough
 bass sound. JOHNSON.

So, in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, b. ii. c. 12:

“ — the rolling sea resounding soft,

“ In his big *base* them fitly answered.” STEEVENS.

Again, in Davis's *Microcosmos*, 1605, p. 32:

“ The singing bullets made his soul rejoice

“ As musicke that the hearing most allures;

“ And if the canons *bas'd* it with their voice

“ He seemed as ravisht with an heavenly noise.” REED.

² And *WITH HIM* there lie mudded.

BUT one fiend—] As these hemistichs, taken together, exceed the propoportion of a verse, I cannot help regarding the words—*with him*, and *but*, as playhouse interpolations.

The *Tempest* was evidently one of the last works of Shakspeare; and it is therefore natural to suppose the metre of it must have been exact and regular. Dr. Farmer concurs with me in this supposition. STEEVENS.

³ Like *POISON* given, &c.] The natives of Africa have been supposed to be possessed of the secret how to temper poisons with such art as not to operate till several years after they were administered. Their drugs were then as certain in their effect, as subtle in their preparation. So, in the celebrated libel called *Leicester's Commonwealth*: “ I heard him once myselfe in publique act at Oxford, and that in presence of my lord of Leicester,

And hinder them from what this ecstasy⁴
May now provoke them to.

ADR.

Follow, I pray you.

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT IV. SCENE I.

Before PROSPERO'S Cell.

Enter PROSPERO, FERDINAND, and MIRANDA.

PRO. If I have too austere-ly punish'd you,
Your compensation makes amends ; for I
Have given you here a thread of mine own life⁵,

maintain that poison might be so tempered and given, as it should not appear presently, and yet should kill the party afterwards at what time should be appointed." STEEVENS.

⁴ — this ECSTASY—] *Ecstasy* meant not anciently, as at present, *rapturous pleasure*, but alienation of mind. So, in *Hamlet*, Act III. Sc. IV. :

"Nor sense to *ecstasy* was e'er so thrall'd—."

Mr Locke has not inelegantly styled it dreaming with our eyes open. STEEVENS.

⁵ — a THREAD of mine own life,] The old copy reads—*third*. The word *thread* was formerly so spelt, as appears from the following passage :

"Long maist thou live, and when the sisters shall decree

"To cut in twaine the twisted *third* of life,

"Then let him die," &c.

See comedy of Mucedorus, 1619, signat. C 3. HAWKINS.

"A *third* of mine own life" is a *fibre* or a *part* of my own life. Prospero considers himself as the *stock* or *parent-tree*, and his daughter as a *fibre* or *portion* of himself, and for whose benefit he himself lives. In this sense the word is used in Markham's English Husbandman, edit. 1635, p. 146 : "Cut off all the maine rootes, withiin half a foot of the tree, only the small *thriddes* or twist rootes you shall not cut at all." Again, *ibid.* : "Every branch and *thrid* of the root." This is evidently the same word as *thread*, which is likewise spelt *thrid* by Lord Bacon.

TOLLETT.

So, in *Lingua*, &c. 1607 ; and I could furnish many more instances :

Or that for which I live ; whom once again
 I tender to thy hand : all thy vexations
 Were but my trials of thy love, and thou
 Hast strangely stood the test ⁶ : here, afore Heaven,
 I ratify this my rich gift. O Ferdinand,
 Do not smile at me, that I boast her off,
 For thou shalt find she will outstrip all praise,
 And make it halt behind her.

FER. I do believe it,
 Against an oracle.

PRO. Then, as my gift, and thine own acquisition ⁷
 Worthily purchas'd, take my daughter : But
 If thou dost break her virgin knot ⁸ before

" For as a subtle spider closely sitting
 " In center of her web that spreadeth round,
 " If the least fly but touch the smallest *thrid*,
 " She feels it instantly."

The following quotation, however, should seem to place the meaning beyond all dispute. In *Acolastus*, a comedy, 1540, is this passage :

" — one of worldly shame's *children*, of his countenance, and
 THREDE of his body." STEEVENS.

Again, in *Tancred and Gismund*, a tragedy, 1592, *Tancred*, speaking of his intention to kill his daughter, says :

" Against all law of kinde to shred in twaine
 " The golden *threede* that doth us both maintain."

MALONE.

⁶ — STRANGELY stood the test :] *Strangely* is used by way of commendation, *merveilleusement*, to a wonder ; the same is the sense in the foregoing scene. JOHNSON.

i. e. in the last scene of the preceding act :

" ——— with good life

" And observation *strange*—" STEEVENS.

⁷ Then, as my GIFT, and thine own ACQUISITION—] My *guest*, first folio. Rowe first read—*gift*. JOHNSON.

A similar thought occurs in *Antony and Cleopatra* :

" ——— I send him

" The greatness he has *got*." STEEVENS.

⁸ — her VIRGIN KNOT—] The same expression occurs in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, 1609 :

" Untide I still my *virgin knot* will keepe." STEEVENS.

All sanctimonious ceremonies⁹ may
 With full and holy rite be minister'd,
 No sweet aspersion¹ shall the heavens let fall
 To make this contract grow ; but barren hate,
 Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
 The union of your bed with weeds so loathly,
 That you shall hate it both : therefore, take
 heed,

As Hymen's lamps shall light you.

FER.

As I hope

For quiet days, fair issue, and long life,
 With such love as 'tis now ; the murkiest den,
 The most opportune place, the strong'st sugges-
 tion

Our worser Genius can, shall never melt
 Mine honour into lust ; to take away
 The edge of that day's celebration,
 When I shall think, or Phœbus' steeds are found-
 der'd,

Or night kept chain'd below².

⁹ If thou dost break her VIRGIN KNOT before

All sanctimonious ceremonies, &c.] This and the passage in Pericles Prince of Tyre, are manifest allusions to the zones of the ancients, which were worn as guardians of chastity by marriageable young women. " Puellæ, contra, nondum viripotentes, hujusmodi zonis non utebantur : quod videlicet immaturis virgunculis nullum, aut certè minimum, a corruptoribus periculum immineret : quas propterea vocabant αμπτρους, nempe *discinctas*." There is a passage in Nonnus, which will sufficiently illustrate Prospero's expression :

Κουρης δ' ελγυς ικανε και ατρεμας ακρον ερυσσας

Δεσμιν ασυλητοις φυλακτορα γυσατο μητρης

Φειδομενη παλαμη, μη παρθενον υπνος εασση. HENLEY.

¹ No sweet ASPERSION—] *Aspersion* is here used in its primitive sense of *sprinkling*. At present it is expressive only of calumny and detraction. STEEVENS.

² When I shall think, or Phœbus' steeds are found-
 der'd,

Or night kept chain'd below.] A similar train of ideas occurs in the 23d book of Homer's *Odyssey* thus translated by Chapman :

PRO. Fairly spoke³ :
Sit then, and talk with her, she is thine own.—
What, Ariel ; my industrious servant Ariel !

Enter ARIEL.

ARI. What would my potent master ? here I am.

PRO. Thou and thy meaner fellows your last service
Did worthily perform ; and I must use you
In such another trick : go, bring the rabble⁴,
O'er whom I give thee power, here, to this place :
Incite them to quick motion ; for I must
Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
Some vanity of mine art⁵ ; it is my promise,
And they expect it from me.

ARI. Presently ?

PRO. Ay, with a twink.

ARI. Before you can say, *Come*, and *go*,
And breathe twice ; and cry, *so, so* ;
Each one, tripping on his toe⁶,

“ — she th' extended night

“ With-held in long date ; nor would let the light

“ Her wing'd-hoof horse join : Lampus, Phaeton,

“ Those ever colts, that bring the morning on

“ To worldly men.” STEEVENS.

³ FAIRLY spoke :] *Fairly* is here used as a trisyllable.

STEEVENS.

⁴ — the rabble,] The crew of meaner spirits. JOHNSON.

⁵ Some VANITY of mine art ;] So, in the unprinted romance
of EMARE, quoted by Mr. Warton in his dissertation on the
Gesta Romanorum, (a prefix to the third vol. of the History of
English Poetry) ;

“ The emperour said on hygh,

“ Sertes, thys is a fayry,

“ Or ellys a *vanite*.”

i. e. an illusion. STEEVENS.

Emare has, since this note was written, been printed by Mr.
Ritson. *Romances*, vol. ii. BOSWELL.

⁶ — Come, and go, —

Each one, tripping on his toe,] So, in Milton's *L'Allegro*,
v. 33 :

“ Come, and trip it as you go

“ On the light fantastic toe.” STEEVENS.

Will be here with mop and mowe :
Do you love me, master ? no.

Pro. Dearly, my delicate Ariel : Do not approach,
Till thou dost hear me call.

Ari. Well I conceive. [*Exit.*

Pro. Look, thou be true ; do not give dalliance
Too much the rein ; the strongest oaths are straw
To the fire i' the blood : be more abstemious,
Or else, good night, your vow !

Fer. I warrant you, sir ;
The white-cold virgin snow upon my heart
Abates the ardour of my liver.

Pro. Well.—
Now come, my Ariel ; bring a corollary⁷,
Rather than want a spirit ; appear, and pertly.—
No tongue⁸ ; all eyes ; be silent. [*Soft musick.*

A Masque. Enter Iris.

Iris. Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas
Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, and peas ;
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads thatch'd with stover⁹, them to
keep ;

⁷ — bring a COROLLARY,] That is, bring more than are sufficient, rather than fail for want of numbers. *Corollary* means surplus. *Corolaire*, Fr. See Cotgrave's Dictionary. STEEVENS.

⁸ No tongue ;] Those who are present at incantations are obliged to be strictly silent, "else" as we are afterwards told, "the spell is marred," JOHNSON.

⁹ — THATCH'D with STOVER,] *Stover* (in Cambridgeshire and other counties) signifies hay made of coarse rank grass, such as even cows will not eat while it is green. *Stover* is likewise used as *thatch* for cart-lodges, and other buildings that deserve but rude and cheap coverings.

The word occurs in the 25th song of Drayton's Polyolbion :

"To draw out sedge and reed, for *thatch* and *stover* fit."

Again, in his Muses' Elyzium :

"Their browse and *stover* waxing thin and scant."

STEEVENS,

Thy banks with pioned and twilled brims¹,
Which spongy April at thy hest betrimms,

¹ Thy bank with PEONIED, and LILIED brims,] The old edition reads *pioned* and *twilled* brims, which gave rise to Mr. Holt's conjecture, that the poet originally wrote :

“ — with *pioned* and *tilled* brims.”

Peonied is the emendation of Hanmer.

Spenser and the author of *Muleasses the Turk*, a tragedy, 1610, use *pioning* for digging. It is not therefore difficult to find a meaning for the word as it stands in the old copy ; and remove a letter from *twilled*, and it leaves us *tilled*. I am yet, however, in doubt whether we ought not to read *lilled* brims ; for Pliny, b. xxvi. ch. x. mentions the *water-lily* as a preserver of chastity ; and says, elsewhere, that the *Peony* medeter Faunorum in Quite Ludibriis, &c. In a poem entitled *The Herring's Tayle*, 4to. 1598, “ the maiden *piony* ” is introduced. In the *Arraignement of Paris*, 1584, are mentioned :

“ The watry flow'rs and *lilies of the banks*.”

And Edward Fenton in his *Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 4to. b. vi. 1569, asserts, that “ the *water-lily* mortifieth altogether the appetite of sensualitie, and defends from unchaste thoughts and dreames of venery.”

In the 20th song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the Naiades are represented as making chaplets with all the tribe of aquatic flowers ; and Mr. Tollet informs me, that Lyte's *Herbal* says, “ one kind of *peonie* is called by some, maiden or virgin *peonie*.”

In Ovid's *Banquet of Sense*, by Chapman, 1625, I meet with the following stanza, in which *twill-pants* are enumerated among flowers :

“ White and red jasmynes, merry, melliphill,

“ Fair crown imperial, emperor of flowers ;

“ Immortal amaranth, white aphrodill,

“ And cup-like *twill-pants* strew'd in Bacchus' bowers.”

If *twill* be the ancient name of any flower, the old reading, *pioned* and *twilled*, may stand. STEEVENS.

Mr. Warton, in his notes upon Milton, after silently acquiescing in the substitution of *pionied* for *pioned*, produces from the *Arcades* “ *Ladon's lilled banks*,” as an example to countenance a further change of *twilled* to *lilled*, which, accordingly, Mr. Rann hath foisted into the text. But before such a licence is allowed, may it not be asked—If the word *pionied* can any where be found?—or (admitting such a verbal from *peony*, like Milton's *lilled* from *lily*, to exist,)—On the banks of what river do *peonies* grow?—Or (if the banks of any river should be discovered to yield them) whether *they* and the *lilies* that, in common with them, betrim those banks, be the produce of *spongy* APRIL?—

To make cold nymphs chaste crowns; and thy broom
groves²,

Or, whence it can be gathered that Iris here is at all speaking of the banks of a *river*?—and, whether, as the bank in question is the property, not of a water-nymph, but of Ceres, it is not to be considered as an object of her own care?—Hither the goddess of husbandry is represented as resorting, because at the approach of spring, it becomes needful to repair the banks (or mounds) of the *flat meads*, whose grass not only shooting over, but being more succulent than that of the *turfy mountains*, would, for want of precaution, be devoured, and so the intended *stover* [hay, or *winter keep*,] with which these *meads* are proleptically described as *thatched*, be lost.

The giving way and caving in of the *brims* of those banks, occasioned by the heats, rains, and frosts of the preceding year, are made good, by opening the trenches from whence the banks themselves were at first raised, and facing them up afresh with the mire those trenches contain. This being done, the *brims of the banks* are, in the poet's language, *pioned* and *twilled*.—Mr. Warton, himself, in a note upon *Comus*, hath cited a passage in which *pioners* are explained to be *diggers* [rather *trenchers*] and Mr. Steevens mentions Spenser and the author of *Muleasses*, as both using *pioning* for *digging*. *Twilled* is obviously formed from the participle of the French verb *touiller*, which Cotgrave interprets “filthily to mix or mingle; confound or shuffle together; bedirt; begrime; besmear:”—significations that join to confirm the explanation here given.

This “bank with *pioned* and *twilled* brims” is described, as ‘trimmed, at the behest of Ceres, by spongy *April*, with flowers, to make cold nymphs chaste crowns.’ These flowers were neither *peonies* nor lilies, for they never blow at this season, but “lady-smocks all silver white,” which, during this humid month, start up in abundance on such banks, and thrive like oats on the same kind of soil:—“*Avoine touillée* croist comme enragée.”—That *OU* changes into *W*, in words derived from the French, is apparent in *cordwainer*, from *cordouannier*, and many others. HENLEY.

Mr. Henley's note contends for small proprieties, and abounds with minute observation. But that Shakspeare was no diligent botanist, may be ascertained from his erroneous descriptions of a *cowslip*, (in the *Tempest* and *Cymbeline*.) for who ever heard it characterized as a *bell-shaped* flower, or could allow the *drops at the bottom* of it to be of a *crimson* hue? With equal carelessness, or want of information, in *The Winter's Tale* he enumerates “lilies of *all kinds*,” among the children of the spring, and as contemporaries with the daffodil, the primrose, and the violet; and in his celebrated song, (one stanza of which is introduced at

Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
Being lass-lorn³; thy pole-clipt vineyard⁴;

the beginning of the fourth act of Measure for Measure,) he talks of *Pinks* "that *April* wears." It might be added, (if we must *speak by the card*,) that wherever there is a bank there is a ditch; where there is a ditch there may be water; and where there is water the aquatic lilies may flourish, whether the bank in question belongs to a river or a field.—These are petty remarks, but they are occasioned by petty cavils.—It was enough for our author that *peonies* and *lilies* were well known flowers, and he placed them on any bank, and produced them in any of the genial months, that particularly suited his purpose. He who has confounded the customs of different ages and nations, might easily confound the produce of the seasons.

That his documents de Re Rusticà were more exact, is equally improbable. He regarded objects of Agriculture, &c. in the gross, and little thought when he meant to bestow some ornamental epithet on the banks appropriated to a Goddess, that a future critic would wish him to say their "*brims were filthily mixed or mingled, confounded, or shuffled together; bedirted, begrimed, and besmeared.*" Mr. Henley, however, has not yet proved the existence of the derivative which he labours to introduce as an English word; nor will the lovers of elegant description wish him much success in his attempt. Unconvinced, therefore, by his strictures, I shall not exclude a border of flowers to make room for the graces of the spade, or what Mr. Pope, in his Dunciad, has styled "the majesty of mud." STEEVENS.

Piony is given by Johnson in his Dictionary as well as *peony*; and Mr. Todd derives it from the Saxon *p onie*. An anonymous correspondent suggested to Mr. Malone that *twilled brims* meant banks fringed with thickly matted grass, resembling the stuff called *twilled cloth*, in which the cords appear closely twisted together. Mr. Bowden has observed to me that Mr. Steevens might have offered a better defence than he has produced for his reading *lillied*, which Mr. Henley objected to, because lillies are not to be found in April. In Lord Bacon's Essay on Gardens, where he is enumerating the flowers which are in season at different periods of the year, we meet with the following passage: "In April follow, the double-white violet; the wall-flower; the stock-gilly-flower; the cowslip; flower-de-luces; and *lillies of all natures*; rose-mary flowers; the tulippe; the double *pony*, &c.

BOSWELL.

² — and thy *BROOM* groves,] *Broom*, in this place, signifies the *Spartium scoparium*, of which brooms are frequently made. Near Gamlingay in Cambridgeshire it grows high enough to conceal the tallest cattle as they pass through it; and in places where

And thy sea-marge, steril, and rocky-hard,
 Where thou thyself dost air: The queen o' the sky,^{Gelus}
 Whose watery arch, and messenger, am I,
 Bids thee leave these; and with her sovereign
 grace,
 Here on this grass-plot, in this very place,
 To come and sport: her peacocks fly amain;
 Approach, rich Ceres, her to entertain.

Enter CERES.

CER. Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er
 Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter;
 Who, with thy saffron wings, upon my flowers
 Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers;
 And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
 My bosky acres⁵, and my unshrub'd down,
 Rich scarf to my proud earth; Why hath thy
 queen
 Summon'd me hither, to this short-grass'd-green⁶?

it is cultivated, still higher: a circumstance that had escaped my notice, till I was told of it by Professor Martyn, whose name I am particularly happy to insert among those of other friends who have honoured and improved this work by their various communications. STEEVENS.

³ Being LASS-LORN;] *Lass-lorn* is *forsaken of his mistress*. So, Spenser:

“Who after that he had fair *Una lorn*.” STEEVENS.

⁴ — thy pole-CLIPT VINEYARD;] To *clip* is to *twine round or embrace*. The poles are *clipped* or embraced by the vines. *Vineyard* is here used as a trisyllable. STEEVENS.

⁵ My BOSKY acres, &c.] *Bosky* is woody. Bosky acres are fields divided from each other by hedge-rows. *Boscus* is middle Latin for *wood*. *Bosquet*, Fr. So, Milton:

“And every *bosky* bourn from side to side.”

Again, in K. Edward I. 1599:

“Hale him from hence, and in this *bosky* wood

“Bury his corps.” STEEVENS.

⁶ — to this SHORT-GRASS'D GREEN?] The old copy reads *short-gras'd green*. “Short-graz'd green” means “grazed so as to be short.” The correction was made by Mr. Rowe.

STEEVENS.

IRIS. A contract of true love to celebrate ;
And some donation freely to estate
On the bless'd lovers.

CER. Tell me, heavenly bow,
If Venus, or her son, as thou dost know,
Do now attend the queen ? since they did plot
The means, that dusky Dis my daughter got,
Her and her blind boy's scandal'd company
I have forsworn.

IRIS. Of her society
Be not afraid ; I met her deity
Cutting the clouds towards Paphos ; and her son
Dove-drawn with her : here thought they to have
done
Some wanton charm upon this man and maid,
Whose vows are, that no bed-rite shall be paid
Till Hymen's torch be lighted : but in vain ;
Mars's hot minion is return'd again :
Her waspish-headed son has broke his arrows,
Swears he will shoot no more, but play with spar-
rows,
And be a boy right out.

CER. Highest queen of state ⁷,
Great Juno comes ; I know her by her gait.

⁷ Highest queen of state,

Great Juno comes ; I know her by her gait.] Mr. Whalley thinks this passage a remarkable instance of Shakspeare's knowledge of ancient poetic story ; and that the hint was furnished by the *Divum incedo Regina* of Virgil.

John Taylor, the water-poet, declares, that he never learned his *Accidence*, and that Latin and French were to him Heathen Greek ; yet, by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument, I will prove him a learned man, in spite of every thing he may say to the contrary : for thus he makes a gallant address his lady ; "Most inestimable magazine of beauty ! in whom the port and majesty of Juno, the wisdom of Jove's brain-bred girl, and the feature of Cytherea, have their domestical habitation." FARMER.

So, in The Arraignment of Paris, 1584 :

"First statelie *Juno*, with her porte and grace."

Enter Juno.

JUN. How does my bounteous sister? Go with me,
To bless this twain, that they may prosperous be,
And honour'd in their issue.

SONG.

JUNO. *Honour, riches, marriage-blessing,
Long continuance, and increasing,
Hourly joys be still upon you!
Juno sings her blessings on you.*

CER. *Earth's increase^s, and foison plenty⁹,
Barns, and garners never empty;*

Chapman also, in his version of the second Iliad, speaking of Juno, calls her—

“ — the goddesse of *estate*.” STEEVENS.

“ *Highest* queen of state.” Sir John Harrington has likewise used this word as one syllable :

“ Thus said the *high'st*, and then there did ensue.”

Orlando Fur. b. xxix. st. 32. MALONE.

⁸ EARTH'S INCREASE, *and foison plenty*, &c.] All the editions, that I have ever seen, concur in placing this whole sonnet to Juno; but very absurdly, in my opinion. I believe every accurate reader, who is acquainted with poetical history, and the distinct offices of these two goddesses, and who then seriously reads over our author's lines, will agree with me, that Ceres's name ought to have been placed where I have now prefixed it.

THEOBALD.

And is not in the old copy. It was added by the editor of the second folio. *Earth's increase*, is the *produce* of the earth. The expression is scriptural: “Then shall the *earth* bring forth her *increase*, and God, even our God, shall give us his blessing.” Psalm lxxvii. MALONE.

This is one among a multitude of emendations which Mr. Malone acknowledges to have been introduced by the editor of the second folio; and yet, in contradiction to himself in his Prolegomena, he depreciates the second edition, as of no importance or value.

FENTON.

I have adopted several corrections from the second folio, as I

*Vines, with clust'ring bunches growing ;
Plants, with goodly burden bowing ;
Spring come to you, at the farthest,
In the very end of harvest !
Scarcity, and want, shall shun you ;
Ceres' blessing so is on you.*

FER. This is a most majestic vision, and
Harmonious charmingly¹ : May I be bold
To think these spirits ?

PRO. Spirits, which by mine art

would from Pope or Hanmer where I thought them obviously right, without acknowledging its authority, for which Mr. Steevens has contended. MALONE.

I have endeavoured to show in The Essay on Shakspeare's Versification, that this and similar instances were unnecessary, and that a verse consisting of six syllables only was common among Shakspeare and his contemporaries. BOSWELL.

⁹ — FOISON *plenty* ;] i. e. plenty to the utmost abundance ;
foison signifying plenty. See p. 66. STEEVENS.

¹ Harmonious charmingly :] Mr. Edwards would read :

“ Harmonious charming *lay*.”

For though (says he) the benediction is sung by two goddesses, it is yet but one *lay* or hymn. I believe, however, this passage appears as it was written by the poet, who, for the sake of the verse, made the words change places.

We might read (transferring the last syllable of the second word to the end of the first) “ *Harmoniously* charming.”

Ferdinand has already praised this aerial Masque as an object of sight ; and may not improperly or inelegantly subjoin, that the charm of sound was added to that of visible grandeur. Both Juno and Ceres are supposed to sing their parts. STEEVENS.

A similar inversion occurs in A Midsummer-Night's Dream :

“ But *miserable* most to live unlov'd. MALONE.

So, in Shirley's Young Admiral :

“ ————— Honour payes

“ Double where Kings neglect, and he is *valiant*

“ *Truely* that dares forget to be rewarded.”

In The Wild Goose Chase by Beaumont and Fletcher, we have a still greater licence used :

“ Be not too glorious foolish : ”

i. e. too foolishly vainglorious. BOSWELL.

I have from their confines call'd to enact
My present fancies.

FER. Let me live here ever ;
So rare a wonder'd father², and a wife,
Make this place Paradise.

[*JUNO and CERES whisper, and send IRIS on
employment.*

PRO. Sweet now, silence ;
Juno and Ceres whisper seriously ;
'There's something else to do : hush, and be mute,
Or else our spell is marr'd.

IRIS. You nymphs, call'd Naiads, of the wand-
ring brooks³,
With your sedg'd crowns, and ever-harmless looks,
Leave your crisp channels⁴, and on this green land
Answer your summons ; Juno does command :
Come, temperate nymphs, and help to celebrate
A contract of true love ; be not too late.

Enter certain Nymphs.

You sun-burn'd sicklemen, of August weary,
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry ;
Make holy-day : your rye-straw hats put on,
And these fresh nymphs encounter every one
In country footing.

² — a WONDER'D father,] i. e. a father able to perform or produce such wonders. STEEVENS.

³ — WAND'RING brooks,] The modern editors read—*winding brooks*. The old copy—*windring*. I suppose we should read—*wand'ring*, as it is here printed. STEEVENS.

⁴ Leave your CRISP channels,] *Crisp*, i. e. *curling*, *winding*, Lat. *crispus*. So, Henry IV. Part I. Act I. Sc. IV. Hotspur, speaking of the river Severn :

“ And hid his *crisped* head in the hollow bank.”

Crisp, however, may allude to the little wave or *curl* (as it is commonly called) that the gentlest wind occasions on the surface of waters. STEEVENS.

Enter certain Reapers, properly habited: they join with the Nymphs in a graceful dance; towards the end whereof PROSPERO starts suddenly, and speaks; after which, to a strange, hollow, and confused noise, they heavily vanish.

PRO. [*Aside.*] I had forgot that foul conspiracy Of the beast Caliban, and his confederates, Against my life; the minute of their plot Is almost come.—[*To the Spirits.*] Well done;—avoid;—no more.

FER. This is strange⁵: your father's in some passion That works him strongly.

MIRA. Never till this day, Saw I him touch'd with anger so distemper'd.

PRO. You do look, my son, in a mov'd sort, As if you were dismay'd: be cheerful, sir: Our revels now are ended: these our actors, As I foretold you, were all spirits, and Are melted into air, into thin air: And, like the baseless fabrick of this vision⁶,

⁵ This is MOST strange:] I have introduced the word—*most*, on account of the metre, which otherwise is defective.—In the first line of Prospero's next speech there is likewise an omission, but I have not ventured to supply it. STEEVENS.

⁶ And, like the baseless fabrick of this vision, &c.] The exact period at which this play was produced is unknown: it was not, however, published before 1623. In the year 1603, the Tragedy of Darius, by Lord Sterline, made its appearance, and there I find the following passage:

“Let greatness of her glassy scepters vaunt,
 “Not scepters, no, but reeds, soon bruis'd, soon broken;
 “And let this worldly pomp our wits enchant,
 “All fades, and scarcely leaves behind a token.
 “Those golden palaces, those gorgeous halls,
 “With furniture superfluously fair,
 “Those stately courts, those sky-encount'ring walls,
 “Evanish all like vapours in the air.”

Lord Sterline's play must have been written before the death

The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
 The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
 Yea, all which it inherit⁷, shall dissolve;
 And, like this insubstantial pageant faded⁸,

of Queen Elizabeth, (which happened on the 24th of March, 1603,) as it is dedicated to James VI. King of Scots.

Whoever should seek for this passage (as here quoted from the 4to. 1603) in the folio edition, 1637, will be disappointed, as Lord Sterling made considerable changes in all his plays, after their first publication. STEEVENS.

⁷ —all which it INHERIT,] i. e. all who possess, who dwell upon it. So, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

“This, or else nothing, will *inherit* her.” MALONE.

⁸ And, like this insubstantial PAGEANT FADED,] *Faded* means here—having vanished; from the Latin, *vado*. So, in *Hamlet*:

“It *faded* on the crowing of the cock.”

To feel the justice of this comparison, and the propriety of the epithet, the nature of these exhibitions should be remembered. The ancient English *pageants* were shows exhibited on the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind. They were presented on occasional stages erected in the streets. Originally they appear to have been nothing more than dumb shows; but before the time of our author, they had been enlivened by the introduction of speaking personages, who were characteristically habited. The speeches were sometimes in verse; and as the procession moved forward, the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. On these allegorical spectacles very costly ornaments were bestowed. See *Fabian*, ii. 382. *Warton's Hist. of Poet.* ii. 199, 202.

The well-known lines before us may receive some illustration from Stowe's account of the pageants exhibited in the year 1604, (not many years before this play was written,) on King James, his Queen, &c. passing triumphantly from the Tower to Westminster; on which occasion seven gates or arches were erected in different places through which the procession passed.—Over the first gate “was represented the true likeness of all the notable houses, *Towers* and steeples, within the citie of London.”—“The sixth arche or gate of triumph was erected above the Conduit in Fleet-c-Streete, whereon the *Globe* of the world was seen to move, &c. At Temple-bar a seventh arche or gait was erected, the fore-front whereof was proportioned in every respect like a *Temple*, being dedicated to Janus, &c. The citie of Westminster, and dutchy of Lancaster, at the Strand had erected the in-

Leave not a rack behind⁹: We are such stuff
As dreams are made of¹, and our little life

vention of a Rainbow, the moone, sunne, and starres, advanced between two Pyramides," &c. *Annals*, p. 1429, edit. 1605.

See also his *Survey of London*, 1618, p. 802: "—some of them, like *Midsummer pageants*, with *towers*, *turrets*," &c.

Perhaps our poet also remembered Spenser's *Ruines of Time*, 1591:

"High *towers*, fair *temples*, goodly theatres,
"Strong walls, rich porches, princelie pallaces,
"Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
"Sure gates, sweet gardens, stately galleries,
"Wrought with faire pillours, and fine imageries,
"All these, (O pitie!) now are turn'd to dust,
"And overgrown with black oblivions rust." MALONE.

⁹ Leave not a RACK behind:] "The winds, (says Lord Bacon) which move the clouds above, which we call the *rack*, and are not perceived below, pass without noise." I should explain the word *rack*, somewhat differently, by calling it, 'the last fleeting vestige of the highest clouds, scarce perceptible on account of their distance and tenuity.' What was anciently called the *rack*, is now termed by sailors—the *scud*.

The word is common to many authors contemporary with Shakspeare. So, in the *Faithful Shepherdess*, by Fletcher:

"—— shall I stray
"In the middle air, and stay
"The sailing *rack*."——

Again, in *David and Bethsabe*, 1599:

"Beating the clouds into their swiftest *rack*."

Again, in the prologue to the *Three Ladies of London*, 1584:

"We list not ride the rolling *rack* that dims the chrystal skies."

Again, in Shakspeare's 33d Sonnet:

"Anon permits the basest clouds to ride
"With ugly *rack* on his celestial face."

Again, in Chapman's version of the twenty-first *Iliad*:

"—— the cracke
"His thunder gives, when out of heaven it tears atwo
his *racke*."

Here the translator adds, in a marginal note. "The *racke* or motion of the clouds, for the *clouds*."

Again, in Dryden's version of the tenth *Æneid*:

"—— the doubtful *rack* of heaven
"Stands without motion, and the tide undriven."

Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland* observes, there is a fish

Is rounded with a sleep.—Sir, I am vex'd ;
Bear with my weakness ; my old brain is troubled.

called a *rack*-rider, because it appears in winter or bad weather ; *Rack*, in the English of our author's days, signifying the *driving of the clouds by tempests*.

Sir Thomas Hanmer, instead of *rack*, reads *track*, which may be countenanced by the following passage in the first scene of Timon of Athens :

“ But flies an eagle flight, bold, and forth on,

“ *Leaving no tract behind.*”

Again, in the Captain, by Beaumont and Fletcher, Act II. Sc. I. :

“ ——— run quietly,

“ *Leaving no trace of what they were behind them.*”

STEEVENS.

Rack is generally used for a *body of clouds* or rather for *the course of clouds in motion*. So, in Antony and Cleopatra :

“ That which is now a horse, even with a thought,

“ *The rack dislimns.*”

But no instance has yet been produced where it is used to signify a *single small fleeting cloud*, in which sense only it can be figuratively applied here. I incline to think that *rack* is a mis-spelling for *wrack*, i. e. *wreck*, which Fletcher likewise has used for a minute broken fragment. See his Wife for a Month, where we find the word mis-spelt as it is in The Tempest :

“ He will bulge so subtilly and suddenly,

“ You may snatch him up by parcels, like a *sea-rack*.”

It has been urged, that “ objects which have only a visionary and insubstantial existence, can, when the vision is faded, leave nothing *real*, and consequently no *wreck* behind them.” But the objection is founded on misapprehension. The words—“ Leave not a rack (or wreck) behind,” relate not to “ the baseless fabrick of this vision,” but to the final destruction of the world, of which the towers, temples, and palaces, shall (*like* a vision, or a pageant) be dissolved, and leave no vestige behind.

MALONE.

Yet see Mr. Horne Tooke's observations on this passage, *ETIHA ITEPOENTA*, vol. ii. p. 388. BOSWELL.

¹ AS DREAMS are made of,] The old copy reads—*on*. But this is a mere colloquial vitiation ; *of*, among the vulgar, being still pronounced—*on*. STEEVENS.

The stanza which immediately precedes the lines quoted by Mr. Steevens from Lord Sterline's Darius, may serve still further to confirm the conjecture that one of these poets imitated the other. Our author was, I believe, the imitator :

Be not disturb'd with my infirmity :
 If you be pleas'd retire into my cell,
 And there repose ; a turn or two I'll walk,
 To still my beating mind.

FER. MIR. We wish your peace.

[*Exeunt.*

PRO. Come with a thought :—I thank you :—
 Ariel, come ².

Enter ARIEL.

ARI. Thy thoughts I cleave to ³ : What's thy
 pleasure ?

PRO. Spirit,
 We must prepare to meet with Caliban ⁴.

ARI. Ay, my commander : when I presented
 Ceres,

“ And when the eclipse comes of our glory's light,

“ Then what avails the adoring of a name ?

“ A meer *illusion made to mock the sight*,

“ Whose best was but the shadow of a *dream*.”

MALONE.

² *Fer. Mir.* We wish your peace.

Pro. Come with a thought :—I thank you :—Ariel, come.]
 The old copy reads “ —I thank *thee*.” But these thanks being
 in reply to the joint wish of Ferdinand and Miranda, I have sub-
 stituted *you* for *thee*, by the advice of Mr. Ritson. STEEVENS.

³ Thy thoughts I CLEAVE TO :] *To cleave to*, is to *unite with*
 closely. So, in *Macbeth* :

“ Like our strange garments, *cleave not to* their mould.”

Again :

“ If you shall *cleave to* my consent.” STEEVENS.

⁴ — TO MEET WITH Caliban.] *To meet with* is to *counteract* ;
 to play stratagem against stratagem.—“ The parson knows the
 temper of every one in his house, and accordingly either *meets with*
 their vices, or advances their virtues.” Herbert's *Country Par-*
son. JOHNSON.

So, in *Cynthia's Revenge*, 1613 :

“ ——— You may *meet*

“ *With* her abusive malice, and exempt

“ Yourself from the suspicion of revenge.” STEEVENS.

I thought to have told thee of it ; but I fear'd,
Lest I might anger thee.

PRO. Say again, where didst thou leave these
varlets ?

ARI. I told you, sir, they were red-hot with
drinking ;
So full of valour, that they smote the air
For breathing in their faces ; beat the ground
For kissing of their feet : yet always bending
Towards their project : Then I beat my tabor,
At which, like unback'd colts, they prick'd their
ears,
Advanc'd their eye-lids ⁵, lifted up their noses,
As they smelt musick ⁶ ; so I charm'd their ears,
That, calf-like, they my lowing follow'd, through
Tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss ⁷, and
thorns,

⁵ Advanc'd their 'eyelids, &c.] Thus Drayton, in his *Nymphidia*, or *Court of Fairie* :

“ But once the circle got within,
“ The charms to work do straight begin,
“ And he was caught as in a gin :
“ For as he thus was busy,
“ A pain he in his head-piece feels,
“ Against a stubbed tree he reels,
“ And up went poor Hobgoblin's heels :
“ Alas, his brain was dizzy.
“ At length upon his feet he gets,
“ Hobgoblin fumes, Hobgoblin frets ;
“ And as again he forward sets,
“ And through the bushes scrambles,
“ A stump doth hit him in his pace,
“ Down comes poor Hob upon his face,
“ And lamentably tore his case

“ Among the briers and brambles.” JOHNSON.

⁶ As they smelt musick ;] *As* is here, as in many other places,
used for *as if*. So in *Cymbeline* :

“ ——— he spoke of her

“ *As* Dion had hot dreams, and she,” &c. MALONE.

⁷ — pricking goss,] I know not how Shakspeare distin-

Which enter'd their frail shins : at last I left them
I' the filthy mantled pool⁸ beyond your cell,
There dancing up to the chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet.

PRO. This was well done, my bird :
Thy shape invisible retain thou still :
The trumpery in my house, go, bring it hither,
For stale to catch these thieves⁹.

ARI. I go, I go. [*Exit.*]

PRO. A devil, a horn devil, on whose nature
Nurture can never stick¹ ; on whom my pains,
Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost² ;
And as, with age, his body uglier grows,

guished *goss* from *furze* ; for what he calls *furze* is called *goss* or *gorse* in the midland counties.

This word is used in the first chorus to Kyd's *Cornelia*, 1594 :
" With worthless *gorse* that, yearly, fruitless dies."

STEEVENS.

By the latter, Shakspeare means the low sort of *gorse* that only grows upon wet ground, and which is well described by the name of *whins* in Markham's *Farewell to Husbandry*. It has prickles like those of a rose-tree or a gooseberry. *Furze* and *whins* occur together in Dr. Farmer's quotation from *Holinshed*.

TOLLETT.

⁸ I' the FILTHY mantled pool—] Perhaps we should read—*filth-ymantled*.—A similar idea occurs in *King Lear* :

" Drinks the green mantle of the standing pool."

STEEVENS.

⁹ For STALE to catch these thieves.] *Stale* is a word in *fowling*, and is used to mean a *bait* or *decoy* to catch birds.

So, in *A Looking-glass for London and England*, 1617 :

" Hence tools of wrath, *stales* of temptation !"

Again, in *Green's Mamilia*, 1595 : " — that she might not strike at the *stale*, lest she were canvassed in the nets."

¹ NURTURE can never stick ;] *Nurture* is *education*. A little volume entitled *The Boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good Maners, &c.* was published in the reign of King Edward VI. 4to. bl. l.

STEEVENS.

² — ALL, all lost,] The first of these words was probably introduced by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor. We might safely read—*are* all lost. MALONE.

So his mind cankers² : I will plague them all,

Re-enter ARIEL loaden with glistening apparel, &c.

Even to roaring :—Come, hang them on this line.

PROSPERO and ARIEL remain invisible. Enter CALIBAN, STEPHANO, and TRINCULO, all wet.

CAL. Pray you, tread softly, that the blind mole
may not

Hear a foot fall³ : we now are near his cell.

STE. Monster, your fairy, which, you say, is a harmless fairy, has done little better than played the Jack with us⁴.

TRIN. Monster, I do smell all horse-piss ; at which my nose is in great indignation.

STE. So is mine. Do you hear, monster ? If I should take a displeasure against you ; look you,—

TRIN. Thou wert but a lost monster.

² And as with age, his body uglier grows,

So his mind cankers :] Shakspeare, when he wrote this description, perhaps recollected what his patron's most intimate friend the great Lord Essex, in an hour of discontent, said of Queen Elizabeth :—" that she grew old and canker'd, and that her mind was become as crooked as her carcase :"—a speech, which, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, cost him his head, and which we may therefore suppose was at that time much talked of. This play being written in the time of King James, these obnoxious words might be safely repeated. MALONE.

I trust that Shakspeare did not aim a reproach at his queen and patroness in her grave. BOSWELL.

³ — the blind mole may not

Hear a foot fall :] This quality of hearing, which the mole is supposed to possess in so high a degree, is mentioned in Euphues, 4to. 1581, p. 64 : " Doth not the lion for strength, the turtle for love, the ant for labour, excel man ? Doth not the eagle see clearer, the vulture smell better, the moale hear lighter ?" REED.

⁴ — has done little better than played the JACK with us.] i. e. He has played *Jack with a lantern* ; has led us about like an *ignis fatuus*, by which travellers are decoyed into the mire.

JOHNSON.

CAL. Good my lord, give me thy favour still :
Be patient, for the prize I'll bring thee to
Shall hood-wink this mischance : therefore, speak
softly,
All's hush'd as midnight yet.

TRIN. Ay, but to lose our bottles in the pool,—

STE. There is not only disgrace and dishonour in that, monster, but an infinite loss.

TRIN. That's more to me than my wetting : yet this is your harmless fairy, monster.

STE. I will fetch off my bottle, though I be o'er ears for my labour.

CAL. Pr'ythee, my king, be quiet : Seest thou here,

This is the mouth o' the cell : no noise, and enter :
Do that good mischief, which may make this island
Thine own for ever, and I, thy Caliban,
For aye thy foot-licker.

STE. Give me thy hand : I do begin to have bloody thoughts.

TRIN. O king Stephano ! O peer ! O worthy Stephano ! look, what a wardrobe here is for thee ⁵ !

CAL. Let it alone, thou fool ; it is but trash.

TRIN. O, ho, monster ; we know what belongs to a frippery ⁶ :—O king Stephano !

⁵ *Trin.* O king Stephano ! O peer ! O worthy Stephano ! look, what a wardrobe is here for thee !] The humour of these lines consists in their being an allusion to an old celebrated ballad, which begins thus : " King Stephen was a worthy peer "—and celebrates that king's parsimony with regard to his *wardrobe*.—There are two stanzas of this ballad in *Othello*. WARBURTON.

The old ballad is printed at large in *The Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, vol. i. PERCY.

⁶ — we know what belongs to a *FRIPPERY* :] A *frippery* was a shop where old clothes were sold. *Fripperie*, Fr.

Baumont and Fletcher use the word in this sense, in *Wit Without Money*, Act II. :

" As if I were a running *frippery*."

So, in *Monsieur d' Olive*, a comedy, by Chapman, 1606 :
" Passing yesterday by the *frippery*, I spied two of them hanging out at a stall, with a gambrell thrust from shoulder to shoulder."

STE. Put off that gown, Trinculo ; by this hand, I'll have that gown.

TRIN. Thy grace shall have it.

CAL. The dropsy drown this fool ! what do you mean,

To doat thus on such luggage ? Let it alone ⁷,
And do the murder first : if he awake,
From toe to crown he'll fill our skins with pinches ;
Make us strange stuff.

STE. Be you quiet, monster.—Mistress line, is not this my jerkin ? Now is the jerkin under the line ⁸ : now, jerkin, you are like to lose your hair, and prove a bald jerkin.

TRIN. Do, do : We steal by line and level, and't like your grace.

The person who kept one of these shops was called a *fripper*.

Strype, in the *Life of Stowe*, says, that these *frippers* lived in Birchin Lane and Cornhill. STEEVENS.

7 — Let it alone,] The old copy reads—*Let's alone*.

JOHNSON.

For the emendation in the text the present editor is answerable. Caliban had used the same expression before. Mr. Theobald reads—" *Let's along*." MALONE.

Hammer also reads, *Let it alone*. BOSWELL.

" *Let's alone*," may mean—" Let you and I only go to commit the murder, leaving Trinculo, who is so solicitous about the *trash* of dress, behind us." STEEVENS.

⁸ — under the line :] " An allusion to what often happens to people who pass the line. The violent fevers, which they contract in that hot climate, make them lose their hair."

Edwards' MSS.

Perhaps the allusion is to a more indelicate disease than any peculiar to the equinoxial.

So, in *The Noble Soldier*, 1632 :

" 'Tis hot going under the *line* there."

Again, in *Lady Alimony*, 1659 :

" — Look to the clime

" Where you inhabit ; that's the torrid zone :

" Yea, there goes *the hair* away."

Shakspeare seems to design an equivoque between the equinoxial and the girdle of a woman.

It may be necessary, however, to observe, as a further elucidation of this miserable jest, that the lines on which clothes are hung, are usually made of twisted horse-hair. STEEVENS.

STE. I thank thee for that jest ; here's a garment for't : wit shall not go unrewarded, while I am king of this country : *Steal by line and level*, is an excellent pass of pate ; there's another garment for't.

TRIN. Monster, come, put some lime⁹ upon your fingers, and away with the rest.

CAL. I will have none on't : we shall lose our time,
And all be turn'd to barnacles, or to apes¹
With foreheads villainous low².

⁹ — put some *LINE*, &c.] That is, *birdlime*. JOHNSON.

So, in Green's Disputation between a He and She Conycatcher, 1592 : " — mine eyes are stauls, and my hands *lime* twigs."

STEEVENS.

¹ — to *BARNACLES*, or to apes —] Skinner says *barnacle* is *Anser Scoticus*. The *barnacle* is a kind of shell-fish growing on the bottoms of ships, and which was anciently supposed, when broken off, to become one of these geese. Hall, in his *Virgidemiarum*, lib. iv. sat. 2, seems to favour this supposition :

"The Scottish *barnacle*, if I might choose,

"That of a worme doth waxe a winged goose," &c.

So likewise Marston, in his *Malecontent*, 1601 :

" — like your Scotch *barnacle*, now a block,

"Instantly a worm, and presently a great goose."

"There are (says Gerard, in his *Herbal*, edit. 1597, page 1391) in the north parts of Scotland certaine trees, whereon do grow shell-fishes, &c. &c. which, falling into the water, do become fowls, whom we call *barnakles*; in the north of England, *brant geese*; and in Lancashire, *tree geese*," &c.

This vulgar error deserves no serious confutation. Commend me, however, to Holinshed, (vol. i. p. 38,) who declares himself to have seen the feathers of these *barnacles* "hang out of the shell at least two inches." And in the 27th song of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the same account of their generation is given.

COLLINS.

Old Gerard, in his *History of Plants*, has a long account of these *barnacles* : "Many of these shells I brought with me to London, which, after I had opened, I found in them living things without form or shape; in others, which were nearer come to ripeness, I found living things that were very naked, in shape like a bird : in others, the birds covered with a soft downe, the shell half

STE. Monster, lay-to your fingers ; help to bear this away, where my hogshhead of wine is, or I'll turn you out of my kingdom : go to, carry this.

TRIN. And this.

STE. Ay, and this.

open, and the birds ready to fall out, which no doubt were the fowles called *barnacles*. I dare not absolutely avouch every circumstance of the first part of this history, concerning the tree that beareth those buds aforesaid, but will leave it to a future consideration, howbeit that which I have seene with mine eies, and handled with mine hands, I dare confidently avouch and boldly put down for verity." *Johnston's ed. of Gerard*, p. 1588.

PHILLIPPS.

"*Cal.* And all be turn'd to *barnacles*, or apes." Mr. Collins's note, it is presumed, will not be thought worth retaining in any future edition. His account of the barnacle is extremely confused and imperfect. He makes Gerarde responsible for an opinion not his own ; he substitutes the name of Holinshed for that of Harrison, whose statement is not so ridiculous as Mr. Collins would make it, and who might certainly have seen the feathers of the barnacles hanging out of the shells, as the *fish barnacle* or *Lepas anatifera* is undoubtedly furnished with a *feathered* beard. The real absurdity was the credulity of Gerarde and Harrison in supposing that the barnacle goose was really produced from the shell of the fish. Dr. Bullein not only believed this himself, but bestows the epithets, *ignorant* and *incredulous* on those who did not ; and in the same breath he maintains that christal is nothing more than ice. See his *Bulwarke of Defence*, &c. 1562. Folio, fo. 12. Caliban's *barnacle* is the *clakis* or tree-goose. Every kind of information on the subject may be found in the *Physica Curiosa* of Gaspar Schot the Jesuit, who with great industry has collected from a multitude of authors whatever they had written concerning it. See lib. ix. c. 22. The works of Pennant and Bewick will supply every deficiency with respect to *rational* knowledge. DOUCE.

² With FOREHEADS villainous LOW.] *Low forehead* was anciently reckoned among deformities. So, in the old bl. l. ballad, entitled *A Peerlesse Paragon* :

" Her beetle brows all men admire,

" Her *forehead wondrous low*."

Again, (the quotation is Mr. Malone's,) in Antony and Cleopatra :

" — And her *forehead*

" As *low* as she would wish it." STEEVENS.

*A noise of hunters heard*³. Enter divers Spirits, in shape of hounds, and hunt them about ; PROSPERO and ARIEL setting them on.

PRO. Hey, Mountain, hey !

ARI. Silver ! there it goes, Silver !

PRO. Fury, Fury ! there, Tyrant, there ! hark, hark !

[CAL. STE. and TRIN. are driven out.

Go, charge my goblins that they grind their joints
With dry convulsions ; shorten up their sinews
With aged cramps ; and more pinch-spotted make
them,

Than pard, or cat o' mountain.

ARI. Hark, they roar.

PRO. Let them be hunted soundly : At this hour
Lie at my mercy all mine enemies :
Shortly shall all my labours end, and thou
Shalt have the air at freedom : for a little,
Follow, and do me service. [Exeunt.

³ *A noise of hunters heard.*] Shakspeare might have had in view "*Arthur's Chace*, which many believe to be in France, and think that it is a kennel of black dogs followed by unknown huntsmen with an exceeding great sound of horns, as if it was a very hunting of some wild beast." See a Treatise of Spectres, translated from the French of Peter de Loier, and published in quarto, 1605.

GREY.

"*Hecate*, (says the same writer, *ibid.*) as the Greeks affirmed, did use to send *dogges* unto men, to feare and terrifie them."

MALONE.

See Gervase of Tilbery, who wrote in 1211, for an account of the *Familia Arturi*. *Ol. Imper.* dec. ii. c. 12. STEEVENS.

See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer ; note on verse 6441. BOSWELL.

ACT V. SCENE I.

Before the Cell of PROSPERO.

Enter PROSPERO in his magick robes; and ARIEL.

PRO. Now does my project gather to a head :
My charms crack not ; my spirits obey ; and time
Goes upright with his carriage ⁴. How's the day ?

ARI. On the sixth hour ; at which time, my lord,
You said our work should cease.

PRO. I did say so,
When first I rais'd the tempest. Say, my spirit,
How fares the king and his followers ⁵ ?

ARI. Confin'd together
In the same fashion as you gave in charge ;
Just as you left them, sir ; all prisoners
In the lime-grove which weather-fends your cell ;
They cannot budge till your release ⁶. The king,
His brother, and yours, abide all three distracted ;
And the remainder mourning over them,
Brim-full of sorrow, and dismay ; but chiefly
Him you term'd, sir, *The good old lord, Gonzalo* ;
His tears run down his beard, like winter's drops
From eaves of reeds : your charm so strongly works
them,

⁴ ——— and time

Goes upright with his carriage.] Alluding to one carrying a burthen. This critical period of my life proceeds as I could wish. Time brings forward all the expected events, without faltering under his burthen. STEEVENS.

⁵ — the king and his ?] The old copy reads—"the king and his followers ?" But the word *followers* is evidently an interpolation, (or gloss which had crept into the text,) and spoils the metre without help to the sense. In *King Lear* we have the phraseology I have ventured to recommend :

"To thee and thine, hereditary ever," &c. STEEVENS.

⁶ — till your release.] i. e. till you release them. MALONE.

That if you now beheld them, your affections
Would become tender.

PRO. Dost thou think so, spirit ?

ARI. Mine would, sir, were I human.

PRO. And mine shall.

Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling ⁷
Of their afflictions ? and shall not myself,
One of their kind, that relish all as sharply,
Passion as they ⁸, be kindlier mov'd than thou art ?
Though with their high wrongs I am struck to the
quick,

Yet, with my nobler reason, 'gainst my fury
Do I take part: the rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further : Go, release them, Ariel ;
My charms I'll break, their senses I'll restore,
And they shall be themselves.

ARI. I'll fetch them, sir. [*Exit.*]

PRO. Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and
groves ⁹ ;

⁷ — a TOUCH, a feeling —] A touch is a sensation. So, in Cymbeline :

“ — a touch more rare

“ Subdues all pangs, all fears.”

So, in the 141st sonnet of Shakspeare :

“ Nor tender feeling to base touches prone.”

Again, in The Civil Wars of Daniel, b. i. :

“ I know not how their death gives such a touch.”

STEEVENS.

⁸ — that relish all as sharply,

Passion as they,] I feel every thing with the same quick sensibility, and am moved by the same passions as they are.

A similar thought occurs in King Richard II. :

“ Taste grief, need friends, like you,” &c. STEEVENS.

⁹ Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves ;] This speech Dr. Warburton rightly observes to be borrowed from Medea's in Ovid: and, “ it proves,” says Mr. Holt, “ beyond contradiction, that Shakspeare was perfectly acquainted with the sentiments of the ancients on the subject of enchantments.” The original lines are these :

And ye, that on the sands with printless foot
Do chase the ebbing Neptune ¹, and do fly him,

Auræque, et venti, montesque, amnesque, lacusque,
Dique omnes nemorum, dique omnes poetis, adeste.

The translation of which, by Golding, is by no means literal, and Shakspeare hath closely followed it. FARMER.

Whoever will take the trouble of comparing this whole passage with Medea's speech, as translated by Golding, will see evidently that Shakspeare copied the translation, and not the original. The particular expressions that seem to have made an impression on his mind, are printed in Italicks :

"Ye ayres and windes, ye *elves of hills*, of *brookes*, of woodes alone,

"Of *standing lakes*, and of the night, approche ye everych one.

"Through *help of whom* (the crooked bankes much wondering at the thing)

"I have compelled streames to run clear backward to their spring.

"By charms I make the calm sea rough, and make the rough seas playne,

"And cover all the skie with clouds, and *chase* them thence again.

"By *charmes I raise and lay the windes*, and burst the viper's jaw,

"And from the bowels of the earth both stones and trees do draw.

"Whole woodes and forrests I remove, *I make the mountains shake*,

"And even the earth itself to groan and fearfully to quake.

"*I call up dead men from their graves*, and thee, O lightsome moone,

"I darken oft, though beaten brass abate thy peril soone.

"Our sorcerie *dimmes* the morning faire, and *darks the sun at noone*,

"The flaming breath of fierie bulles ye quenched for my sake,

"And caused their unwieldy neckes the bended yoke to take.

"Among the earth-bred brothers you a *mortal warre did set*,

"And brought asleep the dragon fell, whose eyes were never shet." MALONE.

"Ye *elves of hills*," &c. *Fairies* and *elves* are frequently, in the poets, mentioned together, without any distinction of character that I can recollect. Keysler says, that *alp* and *alf*, which is *elf* with the *Suedes* and *English*, equally signified a mountain, or a dæmon of the mountains. This seems to have been its original meaning; but Somner's Dict. mentions *elves* or *fairies* of the mountains, of the woods, of the sea and fountains, without any distinction between *elves* and *fairies*. TOLLET.

It would be an injustice to our great poet, if the reader were not to take notice that Ovid has not supplied him with any thing

When he comes back ; you demy-puppets, that
By moon-shine do the green-sour ringlets make,
Whereof the ewe not bites ; and you, whose pas-
time

Is to make midnight mushrooms ; that rejoice
To hear the solemn curfew ; by whose aid
(Weak masters though ye be ¹;) I have be-dimm'd
The noon-tide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds,
And 'twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault
Set roaring war : to the dread rattling thunder
Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
With his own bolt : the strong-bas'd promontory
Have I made shake ; and by the spurs pluck'd up
The pine and cedar : graves, at my command,
Have waked their sleepers ; oped, and let them
forth

By my so potent art : But this rough magick ³

resembling the exquisite fairy imagery with which he has enriched this speech. BOSWELL.

¹ — with PRINTLESS foot

Do chase the ebbing Neptune,] So Milton, in his Masque :

“ Whilst from off the waters fleet,

“ Thus I set my *printless* feet.” STEEVENS.

² (Weak MASTERS though ye be,)] The meaning of this passage may be, “ Though you are but inferior masters of these supernatural powers—though you possess them but in a low degree.” Spenser uses the same kind of expression in *The Fairy Queen*, b. iii. cant. 8, st. 4 :

“ Where she (the witch) was wont her sprights to entertain,

“ *The masters of her art* : there was she fain

“ To call them all in order to her aid.” STEEVENS.

“ ——— by whose aid,

“ (Weak *masters* though ye be,) ” That is ; ye are powerful auxiliaries, but weak if left to yourselves ;—your employment is then to make green ringlets, and midnight mushrooms, and to play the idle pranks mentioned by Ariel in his next song ;—yet by your aid I have been enabled to invert the course of nature. We say proverbially, “ Fire is a good *servant*, but a bad *master*.”

BLACKSTONE.

³ — BUT this rough magick, &c.] This speech of Prospero

I here abjure : and, when I have requir'd
 Some heavenly musick, (which even now I do,)
 To work mine end upon their senses, that
 This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
 Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
 And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
 I'll drown my book. [Solemn musick.]

Re-enter ARIEL: after him, ALONSO, with a fantastic gesture, attended by GONZALO; SEBASTIAN and ANTONIO in like manner, attended by ADRIAN and FRANCISCO: they all enter the circle which PROSPERO had made, and there stand charmed; which PROSPERO observing, speaks.

A solemn air, and the best comforter
 To an unsettled fancy, cure thy brains,
 Now useless, boil'd within thy skull ⁴! There stand,
 For you are spell-stopp'd.—
 Holy Gonzalo, honourable man,
 Mine eyes, even sociable to the shew of thine,
 Fall fellowly drops ⁵.—The charm dissolves apace ;
 And as the morning steals upon the night,
 Melting the darkness, so their rising senses

sets out with a long and distinct invocation to the various ministers of his art ; yet to what purpose they were invoked does not very distinctly appear. Had our author written—" *All this,*" &c. instead of—" *But this,*" &c. the conclusion of the address would have been more pertinent to its beginning. STEEVENS.

⁴ — BOIL'D within thy skull !] So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* :

" Lovers and madmen have such *seething* brains," &c.

STEEVENS.

Again, in *The Winter's Tale* : " Would any but these *boil'd brains* of nineteen and two-and-twenty, hunt this weather ? "

MALONE.

⁵ — fellowly drops.] I would read, *fellow* drops. The additional syllable only injures the metre, without enforcing the sense. *Fellowly*, however, is an adjective used by Tusser.

STEEVENS.

*ARIEL re-enters, singing, and helps to attire
PROSPERO.*

ARI. *Where the bee sucks, there suck I;
In a cowslip's bell I lie²;
There I couch. When owls do cry³,*

² *In a COWSLIP'S bell I lie:]* So, in Drayton's *Nymphidia* :
 " At midnight, the appointed hour ;
 " And for the queen a fitting bower,
 " Quoth he, is that fair *cowslip* flower
 " On Hipcut hill that bloweth."

The date of this poem not being ascertained, we know not whether our author was indebted to it, or was himself copied by Drayton. I believe, the latter was the imitator. *Nymphidia* was not written, I imagine, till after the English *Don Quixote* had appeared in 1612. It was not printed till 1627. MALONE.

³ — *When owls do cry,]* i. e. at night. As this passage is now printed, Ariel says that he reposes in a cowslip's bell during the night. Perhaps, however, [as Mr. Capell has suggested], a full point ought to be placed after the word *couch*, and a comma at the end of the line. If the passage should be thus regulated, Ariel will then take his departure by night, the proper season for the bat to set out upon the expedition. MALONE.

So, in Drayton's *Owle*, 4to. 1604 :

" — such thieves as hate the light,
 " The black-ey'd bat, the watchman of the night."

That the crying of owls was introduced as descriptive of night, and not to mark the season of the year, is proved by Shakspeare's frequent mention of the same bird in various places, in all of which the owl is introduced as an attendant upon night. So, in *Macbeth* :

" It was the owl that cry'd, the fatal bellman,
 " That giv'st the stern'st good-night."

Again, in *King Henry VI.* Part II. :

" Deep night, dread night, the silent of the night,
 " When scritch-owls cry—."

Again, in his *Venus and Adonis* :

" The owl, night's herald, shrieks ; 'tis very late," &c.

Again, in *Cymbeline* :

" The night to the owl, and morn to the lark, less welcome."

MALONE.

The pointing of Ariel's song, its third line in particular, is in the last degree bad, and that in every edition ; *couch* has no stop at all in any of them, and *cry* a full one : what results from this

*On the bat's back I do fly,
After summer, merrily*⁴:

pointing, let them examine that like; the editor will think his duty discharged in showing that under his punctuation the song recovers its beauties, and has a perfect consistency. All the thoughts of it turn upon Ariel's approaching happiness, in that he should now be able to pursue the summer, and live upon the more delicate productions of it—pleasures he had long been deprived of by his confinement in this island; first by Sycorax, and now by Prospero; and to paint his eager relish of them, he is made to express himself as if in actual possession:

"Where the bee sucks, there suck I;

"In a cowslip's bell I lie;

"There I couch:"

which *couch* is not a tautology, but an enforcing and heightening of the image, to make us conceive more strongly the extreme minuteness of this being, which can thus nestle itself whole in the cup of such a small flower. CAPELL.

⁴ *After summer, merrily:]* This is the reading of all the editions. Yet Mr. Theobald has substituted *sun-set*, because Ariel talks of riding on the bat in this expedition. An idle fancy. That circumstance is given only to design the *time of night* in which fairies travel. One would think the consideration of the circumstances should have set him right. Ariel was a spirit of great delicacy, bound by the charms of Prospero to a constant attendance on his occasions. So that he was confined to the island winter and summer. But the roughness of winter is represented by Shakspeare as disagreeable to fairies, and such like delicate spirits, who, on this account, constantly follow *summer*. Was not this then the most agreeable circumstance of Ariel's new-recovered liberty, that he could now avoid *winter*, and follow *summer* quite round the globe? But to put the matter quite out of question, let us consider the meaning of this line:

"There I couch when owls do cry."

Where? in the *cowslip's bell*, and *where the bee sucks*, he tells us: this must needs be in *summer*. *When?* *when owls cry*, and this is in *winter*:

"When blood is nipp'd, and ways be foul,

"Then nightly sings the staring owl."

The Song of *Winter*, in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

The consequence is, that Ariel "flies after summer." Yet the Oxford editor has adopted this judicious emendation of Mr. Theobald, WARBURTON.

Ariel does not appear to have been confined to the island summer and winter, as he was sometimes sent on so long an errand as to the Bermoothes. When he says, "On the bat's back I do fly,"

*Merrily, merrily, shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough⁵.*

&c. he speaks of his present situation only; nor triumphs in the idea of his future liberty, till the last couplet:

“Merrily, merrily,” &c.

The bat is no bird of passage, and the expression is therefore probably used to signify, *not that he pursues summer*, but that, *after summer is past*, he rides upon the warm down of a bat's back, which suits not improperly with the delicacy of his airy being. *After summer* is a phrase in King Henry VI. Part II. Act II. Sc. IV.

Shakspeare, who, in his Midsummer Night's Dream, has placed the light of a glow-worm in its eyes, might, through the same ignorance of natural history, have supposed the bat to be a bird of passage. Owls cry not only in winter. It is well known that they are to the full as clamorous in summer; and as a proof of it, Titania, in A Midsummer Night's Dream, the time of which is supposed to be May, commands her fairies to—

“—— keep back

“The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots.” STEEVENS.

Our author is seldom solicitous that every part of his imagery should correspond. I therefore think, that though the bat is “no bird of passage,” Shakspeare probably meant to express what Dr. Warburton supposes. A short account, however, of this winged animal may perhaps prove the best illustration of the passage before us:

“The bat (says Dr. Goldsmith, in his entertaining and instructive Natural History,) makes its appearance in *summer*, and begins its flight in the dusk of the evening. It appears only in the *most pleasant* evenings; at other times it continues in its retreat; the chink of a ruined building, or the hollow of a tree. Thus the little animal even in summer sleeps the greatest part of his time, never venturing out by day-light, nor in *rainy* weather. But its short life is still more abridged by continuing in a torpid state during the *winter*. At the approach of the cold season, the bat prepares for its state of lifeless inactivity, and seems rather to choose a place where it may continue safe from interruption, than where it may be warmly and commodiously lodged.”

When Shakspeare had determined to send Ariel in pursuit of summer, wherever it could be found, as most congenial to such an airy being, is it then surprising that he should have made the *bat*, rather than “the wind, his post-horse;” an animal thus delighting in that season, and reduced by winter to a state of lifeless inactivity? MALONE.

⁵ — *shall I live now,*

Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.] This thought is

PRO. Why, that's my dainty Ariel : I shall miss thee ;

But yet thou shalt have freedom : so, so, so.—
To the king's ship, invisible as thou art :
There shalt thou find the mariners asleep
Under the hatches ; the master, and the boat-
swain,

Being awake, enforce them to this place ;
And presently, I pr'ythee.

ARI. I drink the air⁶ before me, and return
Or e'er your pulse twice beat. [Exit ARIEL.

GON. All tórmént, trouble, wonder, and amaze-
ment

Inhabits here : Some heavenly power guide us
Out of this fearful country !

PRO. Behold, sir king,
The wronged duke of Milan, Prospero :
For more assurance that a living prince
Does now speak to thee, I embrace thy body ;
And to thee, and thy company, I bid
A hearty welcome.

not thrown out at random. It composed a part of the magical system of these days. In Tasso's *Godfrey of Bulloigne* by Fairfax, b. iv. st. 18 :

" The goblins, fairies, feends, and furies mad,
" Ranged in flowrie dales, and mountaines here,
" *And under every trembling leafe they sit.*"

The idea was probably first suggested by the description of the venerable elm which Virgil planted at the entrance of the infernal shades. *Æn. VI. v. 282* :

Ulmus opaca, ingens ; quam sedem somnia vulgò
Vana tenère ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent.

HOLT WHITE.

⁶ I drink the air —] " To drink the air "—is an expression of swiftness of the same kind as ' to devour the way ' in *K. Henry IV.*
JOHNSON.

So, in *Venus and Adonis* :

" His nostrils *drink the air.*"

Again, in *Timon of Athens* :

" — and through him

" *Drink the free air.*" MALONE.

ALON. Whe'r thou beest he, or no⁷,
 Or some enchanted trifle to abuse me,
 As late I have been, I not know : thy pulse
 Beats, as of flesh and blood ; and, since I saw thee,
 The affliction of my mind amends, with which,
 I fear, a madness held me : this must crave
 (An if this be at all,) a most strange story.
 Thy dukedom I resign⁸ ; and do entreat
 Thou pardon me my wrongs :—But how should
 Prospero
 Be living, and be here ?

PRO. First, noble friend,
 Let me embrace thine age ; whose honour cannot
 Be measur'd, or confin'd.

GON. Whether this be,
 Or be not, I'll not swear.

PRO. You do yet taste
 Some subtilties o' the isle⁹, that will not let you

⁷ WHE'R thou beest he, or no,] *Whe'r* for *whether*, is an abbreviation frequently used both by Shakspeare and Jonson. So, in Julius Cæsar :

“ See, *whe'r* their basest metal be not mov'd.”

Again, in The Comedy of Errors :

“ Good sir, *whe'r* you'll answer me, or not.” M. MASON.

⁸ Thy dukedom I resign ;] The duchy of Milan being through the treachery of Antonio made feudatory to the crown of Naples, Alonso promises to resign his claim of sovereignty for the future.

STEEVENS.

⁹ You do yet TASTE

Some SUBTILTIES o' the isle,] This is a phrase adopted from ancient cookery and confectionary. When a dish was so contrived as to appear unlike what it really was, they called it a *subtilty*. Dragons, castles, trees, &c. made out of sugar, had the like denomination. See Mr. Pegge's Glossary to the Form of Cury, &c. Article *Sotiltees*.

Froissard complains much of this practice, which often led him into mistakes at dinner. Describing one of the feasts of his time, he says there was “ grant planté de mestz si etranges et si desguisez qu'on ne les pouvait deviser ;” and L'Etoile speaking of a similar entertainment in 1597, adds “ Tous les poissons estoient fort dextrement desguisez en viande de chair, qui estoient monstres

Believe things certain: — Welcome, my friends
all:—

But you, my brace of lords, were I so minded,
[*Aside to SEB. and ANT.*
I here could pluck his highness' frown upon you,
And justify you traitors; at this time
I'll tell no tales.

SEB. The devil speaks in him. [*Aside.*
PRO. No:—

For you, most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest fault; all of them; and require
My dukedom of thee, which, perforce, I know,
Thou must restore.

ALON. If thou beest Prospero,
Give us particulars of thy preservation:
How thou hast met us here, who three hours since¹
Were wreck'd upon this shore; where I have lost,
How sharp the point of this remembrance is!
My dear son Ferdinand.

marins pour la pluspart, qu'on avait fait venir exprès de tous les
costez." STEEVENS.

¹ — who THREE HOURS since —] The unity of time is most
rigidly observed in this piece. The fable scarcely takes up a
greater number of hours than are employed in the representation:
and from the very particular care which our author takes to point
out this circumstance in so many other passages, as well as here,
it should seem as if it were not accidental, but purposely designed
to shew the admirers of Ben Jonson's art, and the cavillers of the
time, that he too could write a play within all the strictest laws of
regularity, when he chose to load himself with the critick's fet-
ters.

The Boatswain marks the progress of the day again—*which but
three glasses since*, &c. and at the beginning of this act the dura-
tion of the time employed on the stage is particularly ascertained;
and it refers to a passage in the first act, of the same tendency.
The storm was raised *at least two glasses* after mid day, and Ariel
was promised that *the work should cease at the sixth hour*.

STEEVENS.

PRO. I am woe for't, sir².

ALON. Irreparable is the loss ; and patience
Says, it is past her cure.

PRO. I rather think,
You have not sought her help ; of whose soft grace,
For the like loss, I have her sovereign aid,
And rest myself content.

ALON. You the like loss ?

PRO. As great to me, as late³ ; and, portable⁴
To make the dear loss, have I means much weaker
Than you may call to comfort you ; for I
Have lost my daughter.

ALON. A daughter ?
O heavens ! that they were living both in Naples,
The king and queen there ! that they were, I wish
Myself were mudded in that oozy bed
Where my son lies. When did you lose your
daughter ?

PRO. In this last tempest. I perceive, these lords
At this encounter do so much admire,
That they devour their reason ; and scarce think
Their eyes do offices of truth, their words
Are natural breath⁵ : but, howsoe'er you have

² I am woe for't, sir.] i. e. I am *sorry* for it. *To be woe*, is often used by old writers to signify, *to be sorry*.

So, in the play of *The Four P's*, 1569 :

"But be ye sure I *would be woe*

"That you should chance to begyle me so." MALONE.

³ As great to me, as late ;] My loss is as great as yours, and has as lately happened to me. JOHNSON.

⁴ — portable —] So, in *Macbeth* :

" — these are *portable*

"With other graces weigh'd."

The old copy unmetrically reads—*supportable*. STEEVENS.

⁵ — THEIR words

Are natural breath :] An anonymous correspondent thinks that *their* is a corruption, and that we should read—*these* words. His conjecture appears not improbable. The lords had no doubt

Been jostled from your senses, know for certain,
 That I am Prospero, and that very duke
 Which was thrust forth of Milan; who most
 strangely
 Upon this shore, where you were wreck'd, was
 landed,
 To be the lord on't. No more yet of this;
 For 'tis a chronicle of day by day,
 Not a relation for a breakfast, nor
 Befitting this first meeting. Welcome, sir;
 This cell's my court: here have I few attendants,
 And subjects none abroad: pray you, look in.
 My dukedom since you have given me again,
 I will requite you with as good a thing;
 At least, bring forth a wonder, to content ye,
 As much as me my dukedom.

*The entrance of the Cell opens, and discovers FERDINAND and MIRANDA playing at chess*⁶.

MIRA. Sweet lord, you play me false.

FER. No, my dearest love,

I would not for the world.

MIRA. Yes, for a score of kingdoms⁷, you should
 wrangle,

And I would call it fair play.

concerning *themselves*. Their doubts related only to Prospero, whom they at first apprehended to be some "enchanted trifle to abuse them." They doubt, says he, whether what they see and hear is a mere illusion; whether the person they behold is a living mortal, whether the words they hear are spoken by a human creature. MALONE.

⁶ — *playing at chess*.] Shakspeare might not have ventured to engage his hero and heroine at this game, had he not found Huon de Bordeaux and his Princess employed in the same manner. See the romance of Huon, &c. chapter 53, edit. 1601: "How King Ivorn caused his daughter to *play at the chesse* with Huon," &c. STEEVENS.

I cannot see why Shakspeare should have gone to Huon de Bordeaux for a practice which was probably common in his day, and certainly is so in ours. BOSWELL.

⁷ Yes, for a score of KINGDOMS, &c.] I take the sense to be

ALON. If this prove
A vision of the island, one dear son
Shall I twice lose.

SEB. A most high miracle !

FER. Though the seas threaten they are merciful :

I have curs'd them without cause.

[*FERD. kneels to ALON.*

ALON. Now all the blessings
Of a glad father compass thee about !
Arise, and say how thou cam'st here.

MIRA. O ! wonder !
How many goodly creatures are there here !
How beauteous mankind is ! O brave new world,
That has such people in't !

PRO. 'Tis new to thee.

ALON. What is this maid, with whom thou wast
at play ?

Your eld'st acquaintance cannot be three hours :
Is she the goddess that hath sever'd us,
And brought us thus together ?

FER. Sir, she's mortal ;
But, by immortal providence, she's mine ;
I chose her, when I could not ask my father

only this : ' Ferdinand would not, he says, play her false for the world : yes, answers she, I would allow you to do it for something less than the world, for *twenty kingdoms*, and I wish you well enough to allow you, after a little *wrangle*, that your play was fair.' So, likewise, Dr. Grey. JOHNSON.

I would recommend another punctuation, and then the sense would be as follows :

" Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,

" And I would call it fair play ;"

because such a contest would be worthy of you.

" 'Tis honour with most lands to be at odds,"—
says Alcibiades, in *Timon of Athens*.

Again, in Fletcher's *Two Noble Kinsmen* :

" — They would show bravely,

" Fighting about the titles of two kingdoms." STEEVENS.

For his advice ; nor thought I had one : she
Is daughter to this famous duke of Milan,
Of whom so often I have heard renown,
But never saw before ; of whom I have
Received a second life, and second father
This lady makes him to me.

ALON. I am hers :
But O, how oddly will it sound, that I
Must ask my child forgiveness !

PRO. There, sir, stop ;
Let us not burden our remembrances ⁸
With a heaviness that's gone.

GON. I have inly wept,
Or should have spoke ere this. Look down, you
 gods,
And on this couple drop a blessed crown ;
For it is you, that have chalk'd forth the way
Which brought us hither !

ALON. I say, Amen, Gonzalo !

GON. Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his
 issue

Should become kings of Naples ? O, rejoice
Beyond a common joy ; and set it down
With gold on lasting pillars : In one voyage
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis ;
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife,
Where he himself was lost ; Prospero his dukedom,

⁸ — OUR REMEMBRANCES —] By the mistake of the transcriber the word *with* being placed at the end of this line, Mr. Pope and the subsequent editors, for the sake of the metre, read—*remembrance*. The regulation now made renders change unnecessary. We have the same phraseology in *Coriolanus*:

“ One thus descended,—

“ To be set high in place, we did commend,

“ To your *remembrances*.” MALONE.

It should be recollected that a redundant syllable at the commencement of a line was common in the poetry of our author's time. BOSWELL.

In a poor isle ; and all of us, ourselves,
When no man was his own ⁹.

ALON.

Give me your hands :

[To FER. and MIR.]

Let grief and sorrow still embrace his heart,
That doth not wish you joy !

GON.

Be't so ! Amen !

*Re-enter ARIEL, with the Master and Boatswain
amazedly following.*

O look, sir, look, sir ; here are more of us !
I prophesied, if a gallows were on land,
This fellow could not drown :—Now, blasphemy,
That swear'st grace o'erboard, not an oath on
shore ?

Hast thou no mouth by land ? What is the news ?

BOATS. The best news is, that we have safely
found

Our king, and company : the next our ship,—
Which, but three glasses since, we gave out split,—
Is tight, and yare, and bravely rigg'd, as when
We first put out to sea.

ARI.

Sir, all this service }

Have I done since I went.

PRO.

My tricksy spirit ¹ ! } *Aside.*

⁹ WHEN no man was his own.] For *when*, perhaps should be read—*where*. JOHNSON.

When is certainly right ; i. e. *at a time when* no one was in his senses. Shakspeare could not have written *where*, [i. e. in the island,] because the mind of Prospero, who lived in it, had not been disordered. It is still said, in colloquial language that a madman *is not his own man*, i. e. is not master of himself.

STEEVENS.

¹ My TRICKSY spirit !] Is, I believe, my *clever*, *adroit* spirit. Shakspeare uses the same word in *The Merchant of Venice* :

“ ——— that for a *tricksy* word

“ Defy the matter.”

So, in the interlude of *The Disobedient Child*, bl. l. no date :

Alex. These are not natural events ; they strengthen,
From strange to stranger :—Say, how came you hither ?

Boats. If I did think, sir, I were well awake, I'd strive to tell you. We were dead on sleep², And (how, we know not,) all clapp'd under hatches,

“ ——— invent and seek out

“ To make them go *tricksie*, gallaunt and cleane.”

STEEVENS.

Tricksie also signifies *neat*, *elegantly adorned*. See Florio's Dictionary, 1593 : “ *Nimfarsi*, to trim, to smug, to *trixie*, to deck, or spruce himself up as a nymph.” The same writer interprets *Pargoletta*, “ quaint, pretty, nimble, *trixie*, tender, small.” See also Minsheu's Dict. To trick, to trim. MALONE.

Trick, of which *tricksy* was perhaps the diminutive, was an old adjective, which signified *good-looking*. So, in The most wonderful and pleasant History of Titus and Gisippus, &c. drawn into English metre by Edward Lewicke, 1562 :

“ For good cates then he did not sticke,

“ But toke thinges his health to restore,

“ So that shortely he waxed *tricke*

“ In figure as he was before.” BOSWELL.

² — dead OF sleep.] Thus the old copy. Modern editors —*asleep*.

Mr. Malone would substitute—*on* ; but *on* (in the present instance) is only a vulgar corruption of—*of*. We still say, that a person dies *of* such or such a disorder ; and why not that he is dead *of* sleep ? STEEVENS.

“ *On* sleep ” was the ancient English phraseology. So, in Gascoigne's Supposes : “ — knock again, I think they be *on* sleep.”

Again, in a song said to have been written by Anna Boleyn :

“ O death, rock me *on* slepe.”

Again, in Campion's History of Ireland, 1633 : “ One officer in the house of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his lord *on* sleep with tales vaine and frivolous.” MALONE.

In these instances adduced by Mr. Malone, *on* sleep, most certainly means *asleep* ; but they do not militate against my explanation of the phrase—“ dead *of* sleep.” STEEVENS.

They shew that *on* sleep was an old English phrase, while Mr. Steevens has produced no instance to justify his explanation.

MALONE.

Where, but even now, with strange and several
noises

Of roaring, shrieking, howling, gingling chains,
And more diversity of sounds, all horrible,
We were awak'd ; straitway, at liberty :
Where we, in all her trim, freshly beheld
Our royal, good, and gallant ship ; our master
Capering to eye her : on a trice, so please you,
Even in a dream, were we divided from them,
And were brought moping hither.

ARI. Was't well done ?

PRO. Bravely, my diligence. Thou shalt } *Aside.*
be free.

ALON. This is as strange a maze as e'er men trod :
And there is in this business more than nature
Was ever conduct of ³ : some oracle
Must rectify our knowledge.

PRO. Sir, my liege,
Do not infest your mind with beating on
The strangeness of this business ⁴ ; at pick'd leisure,

³ — CONDUCT of:] *Conduct*, for *conductor*. So, in Ben Jon-
son's *Every Man out of his Humour* :

"Come, gentlemen, I will be your *conduct*." STEEVENS.

So, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

"Come, bitter *conduct* ; come, unsavoury guide."

MALONE.

Again, in *The Householder's Philosophie*, 4to. 1588, p. 1 : "I
goe before, not to arrogat anie superioritie, but as your guide,
because, perhaps you are not well acquainted with the waie.
Fortune (quoth I) doth favour mee with too noble a *conduct*."

REED.

Conduct is yet used in the same sense : the person at Cam-
bridge who reads prayers in King's and in Trinity College Cha-
pels, is still so styled. HENLEY.

⁴ — with BEATING ON

The strangeness, &c.] A similar expression occurs in *The*
Second Part of King Henry VI. :

"—— thine eyes and thoughts

"Beat on a crown."

Which shall be shortly, single I'll resolve you
 (Which to you shall seem probable ⁵;) of every
 These happen'd accidents: till when, be cheerful,
 And think of each thing well.—Come hither, spirit;
[*Aside.*]

Set Caliban and his companions free:
 Untie the spell. [*Exit ARIEL.*] How fares my gracious sir?

There are yet missing of your company
 Some few odd lads, that you remember not.

Re-enter ARIEL, driving in CALIBAN, STEPHANO, and TRINCULO, in their stolen apparel.

STE. Every man shift for all the rest, and let no man take care for himself; for all is but fortune:—
 Coragio, bully-monster, Coragio ⁶!

Beating may mean *hammering*, working in the mind, dwelling long upon. So, in the preface to Stanyhurst's translation of Virgil, 1582: "For my part, I purpose not to *beat* on every childish tittle that concerneth prosodie." Again, Miranda, in the second scene of this play, tells her father that the storm is still *beating* in her mind. STEEVENS.

A kindred expression occurs in Hamlet:

"*Cudgel* thy brains no more about it." MALONE.

⁵ (Which to you shall seem probable,)] These words seem, at the first view, to have no use; some lines are perhaps lost with which they were connected. Or we may explain them thus: 'I will resolve you, by yourself, which method, when you hear the story [of Antonio's and Sebastian's plot], shall seem probable; that is, *shall deserve your approbation.*' JOHNSON.

Surely Prospero's meaning is: "I will relate to you the means by which I have been enabled to accomplish these ends; which means, though they now appear strange and improbable, will then appear otherwise." ANONYMOUS.

I will inform you how all these wonderful accidents have happened; which, though they now appear to you strange, will then seem probable.

An anonymous writer pointed out the true construction of this passage; but I have not adopted his explanation, which is, I think, incorrect. MALONE.

⁶ — Coragio!] This exclamation of encouragement I find in J. Florio's Translation of Montaigne, 1603:

TRIN. If these be true spies which I wear in my head, here's a goodly sight.

CAL. O Setebos, these be brave spirits, indeed !
How fine my master is ! I am afraid
He will chastise me.

SEB.

Ha, ha ;

What things are these, my lord Antonio?
Will money buy them ?

ANT.

Very like ; one of them

Is a plain fish⁷, and, no doubt, marketable.

PRO. Mark but the badges of these men, my
lords,

Then say, if they be true⁸ :—This mis-shapen
knave,——

His mother was a witch ; and one so strong
That could control the moon⁹, make flows and ebbs,

“ —— You often cried Coragio, and called ça, ça.”

Again, in *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, 1598. STEEVENS.

⁷ *Is a PLAIN FISH,*] That is, plainly, evidently a fish. So, in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, “ that *visible* beast, the butler,” means ‘ the butler who is *visibly* a beast.’ M. MASON.

It is not easy to determine the shape which our author designed to bestow on his monster. That he has hands, legs, &c. we gather from the remarks of Trinculo, and other circumstances in the play. How then is he *plainly a fish*? Perhaps Shakspeare himself had no settled ideas concerning the form of Caliban.

STEEVENS.

⁸ — true:] That is, *honest*. A *true man* is, in the language of that time, opposed to a *thief*. The sense is, ‘ Mark what these men wear, and say if they are honest.’ JOHNSON.

⁹ His mother was a witch ; and one so STRONG

That could control the moon, &c.] This was the phraseology of the times. After the statute against *witches*, revenge or ignorance frequently induced people to charge those against whom they harboured resentment, or entertained prejudices, with the crime of witchcraft, which had just then been declared a capital offence. In our ancient reporters are several cases where persons charged in this manner sought redress in the courts of law. And it is remarkable in all of them, to the scandalous imputation of being *witches*, the term—a *strong* one, is constantly added. In Michaelmas term, 9 Car. I. the point was settled that no action

And deal in her command, without her power¹ :
 These three have robb'd me ; and this demi-devil
 (For he's a bastard one,) had plotted with them
 To take my life : two of these fellows you
 Must know, and own ; this thing of darkness I
 Acknowledge mine.

CAL. I shall be pinch'd to death.

ALON. Is not this Stephano, my drunken butler ?

SEB. He is drunk now : where had he wine ?

ALON. And Trinculo is reeling ripe : Where
 should they

could be supported on so general a charge, and that the epithet *strong* did not inforce the other words. In this instance, I believe, the opinion of the people at large was not in unison with the sages in Westminster-Hall. Several of these cases are collected together in I. Viner, 422. REED.

"That could control the moon." From Medea's speech in Ovid, (as translated by Golding,) our author might have learned that this was one of the pretended powers of witchcraft :

"—— and thee, O lightsome moon,

"I darken oft, though beaten brass abate thy peril soon."

MALONE.

¹ And deal in her command, without her power:] I suppose Prospero means, that Sycorax, with less general power than the moon, could produce the same effects on the sea. STEEVENS.

The objection to this explication (even supposing it illustrated the passage before us) is one that lies to a few of Mr. Steevens's, and to many of Mr. M. Mason's comments, namely, that it deduces a meaning from the words, which by no fair interpretation they will admit : for by what licence of construction can "without her power" signify, "with *less general* power."

Shakspeare, I conceive, had here in his thoughts vicarious and delegated authorities. He who "deals in the command," or, in other words, executes the office of another, is termed his lieutenant or vicegerent ; and is usually authorized and commissioned to act by his superior. Prospero therefore, I think, means to say, that Sycorax could control the moon, and act as her vicegerent, without being commissioned, authorized, or *empowered* by her so to do. Our author might have recollected that a letter executed in due form of law, authorizing B. to act for A. is popularly termed a *power of attorney*.

If Sycorax was *strong* enough as by her art to cause the sea to ebb, "when the next star of heaven meditated to make it flow ;" she in this "respect" might be said to control her. MALONE.

Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them²?—
How cam'st thou in this pickle?

TRIN. I have been in such a pickle, since I saw you last, that, I fear me, will never out of my bones: I shall not fear fly-blowing³.

SEB. Why, how now, Stephano?

STE. O, touch me not; I am not Stephano, but a cramp⁴.

² And Trinculo is reeling ripe: Where should they

Find this GRAND LIQUOR that hath GILDED them?] Shakspeare, to be sure, wrote—grand 'lixir, alluding to the grand Elixir of the alchymists, which they pretend would restore youth and confer immortality. This, as they said, being a preparation of gold, they called *Aurum potabile*; which Shakspeare alluded to in the word *gilded*; as he does again in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

“How much art thou unlike Mark Antony?

“Yet coming from him, that *great medicine* hath,

“With his tinct *gilded* thee.”

But the joke here is to insinuate that, notwithstanding all the boasts of the chemists, sack was the only restorer of youth and bestower of immortality. So, Ben Jonson, in his *Every Man out of his Humour*:—“Canarie, the very *Elixir* and spirit of wine.” This seems to have been the cant name for sack, of which the English were, at that time, immoderately fond. Randolph, in his *Jealous Lovers*, speaking of it, says,—“A pottle of Elixir at the Pegasus, bravely caroused.” So, again, in Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Act III.:

“Old reverend sack, which, for aught that I can read yet,

“Was that philosopher's stone the wise king Ptolemeus

“Did all his wonders by.”—

The phrase too of being *gilded*, was a trite one on this occasion. Fletcher, in his *Chances*:—“Duke. Is she not drunk too? *Whore*. A little *gilded* o'er, sir; old sack, old sack, boys!”

WARBURTON.

As the alchemist's *Elixir* was supposed to be a liquor, the old reading may stand, and the allusion holds good without any alteration. STEEVENS.

³ —FLY-BLOWING.] This pickle alludes to their plunge into the stinking pool; and *pickling* preserves meat from *fly-blowing*.

STEEVENS.

⁴ —but a CRAMP.] i. e. I am all over a *cramp*. Prospero had ordered Ariel to *shorten up their sinews with aged cramps*. “Touch me not” alludes to the *soreness* occasioned by them. In

PRO. You'd be king of the isle, sirrah ?

STE. I should have been a sore one then ⁵.

ALON. This is a strange thing as e'er I look'd on⁶.

[*Pointing to CALIBAN.*

PRO. He is as disproportion'd in his manners,
As in his shape :—Go, sirrah, to my cell ;
Take with you your companions ; as you look
To have my pardon, trim it handsomely.

CAL. Ay, that I will ; and I'll be wise hereafter,
And seek for grace : What a thrice-double ass
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god,
And worship this dull fool ?

PRO. Go to, away !

ALON. Hence, and bestow your luggage where
you found it.

SEB. Or stole it, rather.

[*Exeunt CAL. STE. and TRIN.*

PRO. Sir, I invite your highness, and your train,
To my poor cell : where you shall take your rest
For this one night ; which (part of it,) I'll waste
With such discourse, as, I not doubt, shall make
Go quick away : the story of my life,
And the particular accidents, gone by,
Since I came to this isle : And in the morn,
I'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptial

his next speech Stephano confirms the meaning by a quibble on the word *sore*. STEEVENS.

⁵ I should have been a *sore* one then.] The same quibble occurs afterwards in the Second Part of K. Henry VI. : " Mass, 'twill be *sore* law then, for he was thrust in the mouth with a spear, and 'tis not whole yet." Stephano also alludes to the *sores* about him. STEEVENS.

⁶ This is as strange a thing as e'er I look'd on.] The old copy, disregarding metre, reads—

" This is a strange thing as e'er I look'd on."

For the repetition of the conjunction *as*, &c. I am answerable.
STEEVENS.

Of these our dear-belov'd solemnized⁶ ;
 And thence retire me to my Milan, where
 Every third thought shall be my grave.

ALON.

I long

To hear the story of your life, which must
 Take the ear strangely.

PRO.

I'll deliver all ;

And promise you calm seas, auspicious gales,
 And sail so expeditious, that shall catch
 Your royal fleet far off.—My Ariel ;—chick,—
 That is thy charge : then to the elements
 Be free, and fare thou well !—[*aside.*] Please you
 draw near. [Exeunt.]

⁶ — our dear-belov'd SOLEMNIZED.] Thus the old copy. The modern editors read “beloved solemniz'd,” but *solémnized* was the accentuation of the time. So, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, vol. iv. p. 309 :

“ — at a marriage feast,

“ Between Lord Perigort and the beauteous heir

“ Of Jaques Falconbridge *solémnized*.” BOSWELL.

EPILOGUE.

SPOKEN BY PROSPERO.

NOW my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have's mine own ;
Which is most faint : now, 'tis true,
I must be here confin'd by you,
Or sent to Naples : let me not,
Since I have my dukedom got,
And pardon'd the deceiver, dwell
In this bare island, by your spell ;
But release me from my bands,
With the help of your good hands ⁷.
Gentle breath of yours my sails
Must fill, or else my project fails,
Which was to please : Now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant ;
And my ending is despair,
Unless I be reliev'd by prayer ⁸ ;

⁷ With the help of your good hands.] By your applause, by clapping hands. JOHNSON.

Noise was supposed to dissolve a spell. So, twice before in this play :

“ No tongue ; all eyes ; be silent.”

Again :

“ — hush ! be mute ;

“ Or else our *spell is marr'd*.”

Again, in *Macbeth*, Act IV. Sc. I. :

“ Hear his speech, but say thou nought.”

Again, *ibid* :

“ Listen, but speak not to't.” STEEVENS.

⁸ And my ending is despair,

Unless I be reliev'd by prayer ;] This alludes to the old stories told of the despair of neeromancers in their last moments, and of the efficacy of the prayers of their friends for them.

WARBURTON.

Which pierces so, that it assaults
 Mercy itself, and frees all faults.

As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
 Let your indulgence set me free ⁹.

⁹ It is observed of *The Tempest*, that its plan is regular ; this the author of *The Revisal* thinks, what I think too, an accidental effect of the story, not intended or regarded by our author. But, whatever might be Shakspeare's intention in forming or adopting the plot, he has made it instrumental to the production of many characters, diversified with boundless invention, and preserved with profound skill in nature, extensive knowledge of opinions, and accurate observation of life. In a single drama are here exhibited princes, courtiers, and sailors, all speaking in their real characters. There is the agency of airy spirits, and of an earthly goblin. The operations of magick, the tumults of a storm, the adventures of a desert island, the native effusion of untaught affection, the punishment of guilt, and the final happiness of the pair for whom our passions and reason are equally interested.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson, in a note on the first scene of this play, has observed upon the authority of a skilful navigator, that the naval dialogue is incorrect. See p. 19, n.1. I am happy to have it in my power to present the reader with a most satisfactory refutation of this criticism from the pen of a distinguished naval officer, the right honourable Constantine, the second Lord Mulgrave, for which Mr. Malone was indebted to the kindness of Sir George Beaumont. BOSWELL.

The first scene of *The Tempest* is a very striking instance of the great accuracy of Shakspeare's knowledge in a professional science, the most difficult to attain without the help of experience. He must have acquired it by conversation with some of the most skilful seamen of that time. No books had then been published on the subject.

The first publication, in the year 1626, was, "An Accidence or Pathway to Experience, necessary for all young Seamen, or those that are desirous of going to Sea;" by Captain John Smith, some time Governor of Virginia, and Admiral of New England. In his Dedication he says, "I have been persuaded to print this Discourse, being a subject I never see writ before." His book is very short; there is an example of a ship carried through a variety of situations, with all the words of command expressed; there are several of these of Shakspeare intermixed with many others of more detail.

The next book on the subject was the *Seaman's Dictionary*, composed by Sir Henry Manwaring, and by him presented to the Duke of Buckingham, the then Lord High Admiral. In his Preface he says, "The use of this book is to instruct one whose quality, attendance, or the like, cannot permit him to gain the knowledge of terms, names, words, the parts, qualities, and manner of doing things with ships by long experience, without which hath not any one as yet arrived to the least judgement or knowledge of them. It being so, that very few gentlemen (though they be called seamen) do fully and wholly understand what belongs to their profession, having only some scrabbling terms and names belonging to some parts of a ship

* * * * *
 * * * * *

whence it is that so many gentlemen go long voyages, and return in a manner as ignorant as when they went out.

"To understand the art of navigation, is far easier learnt than to know the pratique of working ships; in respect there are many helps for the first, by many books; but for the other, there was not so much as a means thought of till this to inform any one in it."

I have quoted these authorities to show how difficult it was, at that time, to acquire any knowledge of seamanship. It is a curious circumstance, that Shakspeare should have been so fortunate in his instructor, and so correct in the application of his knowledge.

The succession of events is strictly observed in the natural progress of the distress described; the expedients adopted are the most proper that could have been devised for a chance of safety: and it is neither to the want of skill of the seaman or the bad qualities of the ship, but solely to the power of Prospero, that the shipwreck is to be attributed.

The words of command are not only strictly proper, but are only such as point the object to be attained, and no superfluous ones of detail. Shakspeare's ship was too well manned to make it necessary to tell the seamen how they were to do it, as well as what they were to do.

He has shown a knowledge of the new improvements, as well as the doubtful points of seamanship; one of the latter he has introduced, under the only circumstance in which it was indispensable.

The events certainly follow too near one another for the strict time of representation: but perhaps, if the whole length of the play was divided by the time allowed by the critics, the portion allotted to this scene might not be too little for the whole. But he has taken care to mark intervals between the different operations by exits.

1st Position.

Fall to't yarely, or we run
ourselves aground.

2d Position.

Yare yare, take in the top-
sail, blow till thou burst thy
wind, if room enough.

3d Position.

Down with the top mast *.—
Yare, lower, lower, bring her to
try with the main course.

4th Position.

Lay her a hold, a hold : set
her two courses, off to sea again,
lay her off.

5th Position.

We split, we split.

* The striking the top masts was a new invention in Shakspeare's time, which he here very properly introduces. Sir Henry Manwaring says, "It is not yet agreed amongst all seamen whether it is better for a ship to hull with her topmast up or down." In the Postscript to the Dictionary, he afterwards gives his own opinion: "If you have sea room it is never good to strike the topmast." Shakspeare has placed his ship in the situation in which it was indisputably right to strike the topmast, when he had not sea room."

1st Position.

Land discovered under the
lee; the wind blowing too fresh
to hawl upon a wind with the
topsail set.—Yare is an old sea
term for briskly, in use at that
time. This first command is
therefore a notice to be ready to
execute any orders quickly.

2d Position.

The topsail is taken in.—
"Blow till thou burst thy wind,
if room enough." The danger
in a good sea boat is only from
being too near the land: this is
introduced here to account for
the next order.

3d Position.

The gale encreasing, the top-
mast is struck, to take the weight
from aloft, make the ship drive
less to leeward, and bear the
mainsail under which the ship
is laid to.

4th Position.

The ship, having driven near
the shore, the mainsail is hawled
up; the ship wore, and the two
courses set on the other tack, to
endeavour to clear the land that
way.

5th Position.

The ship not able to weather
a point, is driven on shore.

HISTORICAL PLAYS.

WE have now finished the miscellaneous plays of Shakspeare, which I have printed in conformity with Mr. Malone's intention, according to the order in which he supposed them to be written. In compliance with the general opinion of those whom I have consulted on the subject, I have ventured to deviate from his plan in the arrangement of those dramas which are founded on English history. Dr. Johnson has observed in the preliminary notes to Henry IV. Part I. that most of them were designed by Shakspeare to be read in regular connection; and I have therefore thought it more for the reader's convenience, not to break the historical chain. BOSWELL.

KING JOHN.



PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE Troublesome Reign of King John was written in two parts, by W. Shakspeare and W. Rowley, and printed 1611. But the present play is entirely different, and infinitely superior to it.

POPE.

The edition of 1611 has no mention of Rowley, nor in the account of Rowley's works is any mention made of his conjunction with Shakspeare in any play. King John was reprinted, in two parts, in 1622. The first edition that I have found of this play, in its present form, is that of 1623, in folio. The edition of 1591 I have not seen. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson mistakes, when he says there is no mention, in Rowley's works, of any conjunction with Shakspeare. The Birth of Merlin is ascribed to them jointly, though I cannot believe Shakspeare had any thing to do with it. Mr. Capell is equally mistaken, when he says, (Pref. p. 15) that Rowley is called his partner in the title-page of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

There must have been some tradition, however erroneous, upon which Mr. Pope's account was founded. I make no doubt that Rowley wrote the first King John; and, when Shakspeare's play was called for, and could not be procured from the players, a piratical bookseller reprinted the old one, with *W. Sh.* in the title-page. FARMER.

The elder play of King John was first published in 1591. Shakspeare has preserved the greatest part of the conduct of it, as well as some of the lines. A few of those I have pointed out, and others I have omitted as undeserving notice. The number of quotations from Horace, and similar scraps of learning scattered over this motley piece, ascertain it to have been the work of a scholar. It contains likewise a quantity of rhyming Latin, and ballad-metre; and in a scene where the Bastard is represented as plundering a monastery, there are strokes of humour, which seem, from their particular turn, to have been most evidently produced by another hand than that of our author.

Of this historical drama there is a subsequent edition in 1611, printed for John Helme, whose name appears before none of the genuine pieces of Shakspeare. I admitted this play some years ago as our author's own, among the twenty which I published from the old editions; but a more careful perusal of it, and a fur-

ther conviction of his custom of borrowing plots, sentiments, &c. disposes me to recede from that opinion. STEEVENS.

A play entitled *The Troublesome Raigne of John King of England*, in two parts, was printed in 1591, without the writer's name. It was written, I believe, either by Robert Greene, or George Peele; and certainly preceded this of our author. Mr. Pope, who is very inaccurate in matters of this kind, says that the former was printed in 1611, as written by W. Shakspeare and W. Rowley. But this is not true. In the *second* edition of this old play, in 1611, the letters *W. Sh.* were put into the title-page to deceive the purchaser, and to lead him to suppose the piece was Shakspeare's play, which, at that time, was not published.—See a more minute account of this fraud in *An Attempt to Ascertain the Order of Shakspeare's Plays*, vol. ii. Our author's *King John* was written, I imagine, in 1596. The reasons on which this opinion is founded may be found in that Essay. MALONE.

Though this play have the title of *The Life and Death of King John*, yet the action of it begins at the thirty-fourth year of his life, and takes in only some transactions of his reign to the time of his demise, being an interval of about seventeen years.

THEOBALD.

It takes in the whole of his reign, which lasted only seventeen years: his accession was in 1199, and his death in 1216.

MALONE.

Hall, Holinshed, Stowe, &c. are closely followed, not only in the conduct, but sometimes in the very expressions, throughout the following historical dramas; viz. *Macbeth*, this play, *Richard II.* *Henry IV.* two parts, *Henry V.* *Henry VI.* three parts, *Richard III.* and *Henry VIII.*

A booke called *The Historie of Lord Faulconbridge*, bastard Son to *Richard Cordelion*, was entered at Stationers' Hall, Nov. 29, 1614; but I have never met with it, and therefore know not whether it was the old black letter history, or a play upon the same subject. For the original *King John*, see *Six old Plays* on which Shakspeare founded, &c. published by S. Leacroft, Charing-cross. STEEVENS.

The Historie of Lord Faulconbridge, &c. is a prose narrative, in bl. l. The earliest edition that I have seen of it was printed in 1616.

But by an entry on the Stationers' Registers, 29th November, 1614, it appears that there had been an old edition of the tract entitled *The History of George W. Faulconbridge*, the son of *Richard Cordelion*, and that the copy had been assigned by [William] Barley to Thomas Beale.

A book entitled *Richard Cur de Lion* was entered on the Stationers' books in 1558.

A play called *The Funeral of Richard Cordelion*, was written by Robert Wilson, Henry Chettle, Anthony Mundy, and Michael Drayton, and first exhibited in the year 1598. See *The Historical Account of The English Stage*, vol. iii. MALONE.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

KING JOHN.

PRINCE HENRY, his Son; afterwards King Henry III.

ARTHUR, Duke of Bretagne, Son of Geffrey, late Duke of Bretagne, the elder Brother of King John.

WILLIAM MARESHALL, Earl of Pembroke.

GEFFREY FITZ-PETER, Earl of Essex, Chief Justiciary of England.

WILLIAM LONGSWORD, Earl of Salisbury¹.

ROBERT BIGOT, Earl of Norfolk.

HUBERT DE BURGH, Chamberlain to the King.

ROBERT FAULCONBRIDGE, Son of Sir Robert Faulconbridge.

PHILIP FAULCONBRIDGE, his Half-brother, bastard Son to King Richard the First.

JAMES GURNEY, Servant to Lady Faulconbridge.

PETER of Pomfret, a Prophet.

PHILIP, King of France.

LEWIS, the Dauphin.

Arch-duke of Austria.

CARDINAL PANDULPH, the Pope's Legate.

MELUN, a French Lord.

CHATILLON, Ambassador from France to King John.

ELINOR, the Widow of King Henry II. and Mother of King John.

CONSTANCE, Mother to Arthur.

BLANCH, Daughter to Alphonso, King of Castile, and Niece to King John.

LADY FAULCONBRIDGE, Mother to the Bastard, and Robert Faulconbridge.

Lords, Ladies, Citizens of Angiers, Sheriff, Heralds, Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and other Attendants.

SCENE, sometimes in England, and sometimes in France.

¹ — Salisbury.] Son to King Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford.
STEEVENS.

KING JOHN.

ACT I. SCENE I

Northampton. A Room of State in the Palace.

Enter King JOHN, Queen ELINOR, PEMBROKE, ESSEX, SALISBURY, and Others, with CHATILLON.

K. JOHN. Now, say, Chatillon, what would France with us ?

CHAT. Thus, after greeting, speaks the king of France,

In my behaviour², to the majesty,
The borrow'd majesty of England here.

ELI. A strange beginning ;—borrow'd majesty !

K. JOHN. Silence, good mother ; hear the embassy.

CHAT. Philip of France, in right and true behalf
Of thy deceased brother Geoffrey's son,
Arthur Plantagenet, lays most lawful claim

² In my behaviour,] The word *behaviour* seems here to have a signification that I have never found in any other author. "The king of France," says the envoy, "thus speaks in my *behaviour* to the majesty of England ;" that is, the King of France speaks in the *character* which I here assume. I once thought that these two lines, "in my behaviour," &c. had been uttered by the ambassador, as part of his master's message, and that *behaviour* had meant the *conduct* of the King of France towards the King of England ; but the ambassador's speech, as continued after the interruption, will not admit this meaning. JOHNSON.

"In my behaviour" means, I think, in the words and action that I am now going to use. So, in the fifth Act of this play, the Bastard says to the French king—

"—— Now hear our English king,

"For thus his royalty doth speak *in me*." MALONE.

To this fair island, and the territories ;
 To Ireland, Poitiers, Anjou, Touraine, Maine :
 Desiring thee to lay aside the sword,
 Which sways usurpingly these several titles ;
 And put the same into young Arthur's hand,
 Thy nephew, and right royal sovereign.

K. JOHN. What follows, if we disallow of this ?

CHAT. The proud control² of fierce and bloody
 war,

To enforce these rights so forcibly withheld.

K. JOHN. Here have we war for war, and blood
 for blood,

Controlment for controlment : so answer France³.

² — control —] *Opposition*, from *controller*. JOHNSON.

I think it rather means *constraint* or *compulsion*. So, in the second Act of King Henry V. when Exeter demands of the King of France the surrender of his crown, and the King answers—
 “ Or else what follows ? ” Exeter replies :

“ Bloody *constraint* ; for if you hide the crown,

“ Even in your hearts, there will he rake for it.”

The passages are exactly similar. M. MASON.

³ Here have we war for war, and blood for blood,

Controlment for controlment, &c.] King John's reception of Chatillon not a little resembles that which Andrea meets with from the King of Portugal, in the first part of Jeronimo, &c. 1605 :

“ *And.* Thou shalt pay tribute, Portugal, with blood.—

“ *Bal.* *Tribute for tribute* then ; and *foes for foes*.

“ *And.* — I bid you sudden wars.” STEEVENS.

Jeronimo was exhibited on the stage before the year 1590.

MALONE.

From the following passage in Barnabie Googe's *Cupido conquered*, (dedicated with his other poems, in May, 1562, and printed in 1563,) Jeronimo appears to have been written earlier than the earliest of these dates :

“ Mark hym that shoves y^e *Tragedies*,

“ Thyne owne famyllyar frende,

“ By whom y^e *Spaniard's hawty style*

“ In Englysh verse is pende.”

B. Googe had already founded the praises of Phaer and Gascoigne, and is here descanting on the merits of Kyd.

It is not impossible (though Ferrex and Porrex was acted in

CHAT. Then take my king's defiance from my mouth,
The furthest limit of my embassy.

K. JOHN. Bear mine to him, and so depart in peace :
Be thou as lightning⁴ in the eyes of France ;

1561) that Hieronymo might have been the first regular tragedy that appeared in an English dress.

It may also be remarked, that B. Googe, in the foregoing lines, seems to speak of a tragedy "in *English* verse" as a novelty. STEEVENS.

The foregoing note is entirely founded on a mistake. Googe's verses relate, not to Kyd's Tragedy, but to Alexander Neville's translation of the Spaniard Seneca's Tragedy of *Cedipus*, printed in 1560.

A. Neville was Googe's particular friend; in the verses quoted, Mercury is the speaker, and he is addressing Googe the author :

" Marke him that thundred out the deeds
" of olde Anchises sun
" Whose English verse gyves Maroes grace,
" in all that he hath done ;
" Whose death the Muses sorrow much
" that lack of aged dayes
" Amongst the comen Brytons old
" should hynder Virgils prayse.
" Mark him that hath wel framde a glasse
" for states to looke upon,
" Whose labour shews the ends of the
" that lyved long agone.
" Marke hym y^e shoves y^e tragedyes,
" thyne owne famylyar frende,
" By whom y^e Spaniard's hawty style
" in Englysh verse is pende."

The first person here alluded to, is Thomas Phayer, who had published a translation of the first seven books of the *Æneid*, and was prevented by death from finishing the work. The second is Higgins, the author of the *Mirroure of Magistrates*.

The third, Alexander Neville, the familiar friend of Googe, who has a copy of encomiastic verses on Googe prefixed to the very book here quoted. Several of Googe's poems in that work are addressed to Neville, and his answers are subjoined.

MALONE.

⁴ Be thou as LIGHTNING —] The simile does not suit well :

For ere thou canst report I will be there,
 The thunder of my cannon shall be heard :
 So, hence ! Be thou the trumpet of our wrath,
 And sullen presage^s of your own decay.—
 An honourable conduct let him have :—

the lightning, indeed, appears before the thunder is heard, but the lightning is destructive, and the thunder innocent. JOHNSON.

The allusion may, notwithstanding, be very proper, so far as Shakspeare had applied it, i. e. merely to the *swiftness* of the *lightning*, and its *preceding* and *foretelling* the *thunder*. But there is some reason to believe that *thunder* was not thought to be *innocent* in our author's time, as we elsewhere learn from himself. See *King Lear*, Act III. Sc. II. Antony and Cleopatra, Act II. Sc. V. *Julius Cæsar*, Act I. Sc. III. and still more decisively in *Measure for Measure*, Act II. Sc. II. This old superstition is still prevalent in many parts of the country. RITSON.

King John does not allude to the destructive powers either of thunder or lightning ; he only means to say, that Chatillon shall appear to the eyes of the French like lightning, which shows that thunder is approaching : and the thunder he alludes to is that of his *cannon*. Johnson also forgets, that though, philosophically speaking, the destructive power is in the lightning, it has generally, in poetry, been attributed to the thunder. So, *Lear* says :

“ You sulphurous and thought-executing fires,
 “ Vaunt-couriers to oak-cleaving thunderbolts,
 “ Singe my white head ! ” M. MASON.

^s — SULLEN presage —] By the epithet *sullen*, which cannot be applied to a trumpet, it is plain that our author's imagination had now suggested a new idea. It is as if he had said, be a *trumpet* to alarm with our invasion, be a *bird of ill-omen* to croak out the prognostick of your own ruin. JOHNSON.

I do not see why the epithet *sullen* may not be applied to a *trumpet*, with as much propriety as to a *bell*. In our author's *King Henry IV. Part II.* we find—

“ Sounds ever after as a *sullen bell*—.” MALONE.

Surely Johnson is right : the epithet *sullen* may be applied as Milton also has applied it to a *bell* “ swinging slow with *sullen* roar,” with more propriety than to the sharp sound of a trumpet.

BOSWELL.

That here are two ideas is evident ; but the second of them has not been luckily explained. “ The sullen presage of your own decay,” means, the dismal passing bell, that announces your own approaching dissolution.” STEEVENS.

Pembroke, look to't: Farewell, Chatillon.

[*Excunt CHATILLON and PEMBROKE.*]

ELI. What now, my son? have I not ever said,

How that ambitious Constance would not cease,
Till she had kindled France, and all the world,
Upon the right and party of her son?
This might have been prevented, and made whole,

With very easy arguments of love;
Which now the manage⁶ of two kingdoms must
With fearful bloody issue arbitrate.

K. JOHN. Our strong possession, and our right,
for us.

ELI. Your strong possession, much more than
your right;

Or else it must go wrong with you, and me:
So much my conscience whispers in your ear;
Which none but heaven, and you, and I, shall hear.

Enter the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, who whispers ESSEX⁷.

ESSEX. My liege, here is the strangest controversy,

Come from the country to be judg'd by you,
That e'er I heard: Shall I produce the men?

K. JOHN. Let them approach.— [*Exit Sheriff.*]
Our abbies, and our priories, shall pay

⁶ — the manage —] i. e. conduct, administration. So, in King Richard II.:

“ ——— for the rebels,

“ Expedient *manage* must be made, my liege.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ *Enter the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, &c.*] This stage direction I have taken from the old quarto. STEEVENS.

*Re-enter Sheriff, with ROBERT FAULCONBRIDGE, and PHILIP, his bastard Brother*⁸.

This expedition's charge.—What men are you ?

BAST. Your faithful subject I, a gentleman,
Born in Northamptonshire ; and eldest son,
As I suppose, to Robert Faulconbridge ;
A soldier, by the honour-giving hand
Of Cœur-de-lion knighted in the field.

K. JOHN. What art thou ?

ROB. The son and heir to that same Faulconbridge.

K. JOHN. Is that the elder, and art thou the heir ?

⁸ — and PHILIP, his bastard Brother.] Though Shakspeare adopted this character of Philip Faulconbridge from the old play, it is not improper to mention that it is compounded of two distinct personages.

Matthew Paris says : “ Sub illius temporis curriculo, *Falcasius de Brete*, Neusteriensis, et spurius ex parte matris, atque Bastardus, qui in vili jumento manticato ad Regis paulo ante clientelam descenderat,” &c.

Mathew Paris, in his History of the Monks of St. Albans, calls him *Falce*, but in his General History, *Falcasius de Brete*, as above.

Holinshed says that “ Richard I. had a natural son named Philip, who, in the year following, killed the Viscount De Limoges, to revenge the death of his father.” STEEVENS.

Perhaps the following passage in the continuation of Harding's Chronicle, 1543, fol. 24, b. ad ann. 1472, induced the author of the old play to affix the name of *Faulconbridge* to King Richard's natural son, who is only mentioned in our histories by the name of Philip : “ one *Faulconbridge*, therle of Kent, his *bastarde*, a stoute-hearted man.”

Who the mother of Philip was is not ascertained. It is said that she was a lady of Poictou, and that King Richard bestowed upon her son a lordship in that province.

In expanding the character of the Bastard, Shakspeare seems to have proceeded on the following slight hint in the original play :

“ Next them, a bastard of the king's deceas'd,

“ *A hardie wild-head, rough, and venturous.*” MALONE.

You came not of one mother then, it seems.

BAST. Most certain of one mother, mighty king,
That is well known ; and, as I think, one father :
But, for the certain knowledge of that truth,
I put you o'er to heaven, and to my mother ;
Of that I doubt, as all men's children may."

ELI. Out on thee, rude man ! thou dost shame
thy mother,
And wound her honour with this diffidence.

BAST. I, madam ? no, I have no reason for it ;
That is my brother's plea, and none of mine ;
The which if he can prove, 'a pops me out
At least from fair five hundred pound a year :
Heaven guard my mother's honour, and my land !

K. JOHN. A good blunt fellow :—Why, being
younger born,
Doth he lay claim to thine inheritance ?

BAST. I know not why, except to get the land.
But once he slander'd me with bastardy :
But whe'r¹ I be as true begot, or no,
That still I lay upon my mother's head ;
But, that I am as well begot, my liege,
(Fair fall the bones that took the pains for me !)
Compare our faces, and be judge yourself.

⁹ But, for the certain knowledge of that truth,
I put you o'er to heaven, and to my mother ;
Of that I doubt, as all men's children may.] The resemblance between this sentiment, and that of Telemachus, in the first book of the *Odyssey*, is apparent. [The passage is thus translated by Chapman :

" My mother, certaine, says I am his sonne ;

" I know not ; nor was ever simply knowne,

" By any child, the sure truth of his sire."

Mr. Pope has observed, that the like sentiment is found in Euripides, Menander, and Aristotle. Shakspeare expresses the same doubt in several of his other plays. STEEVENS.

¹ But whe'r—] *Whe'r* for *whether*. So, in *The Comedy of Errors* :

" Good sir, say, *whe'r* you'll answer me or no."

STEEVENS.

If old sir Robert did beget us both,
 And were our father, and this son like him ;—
 O old sir Robert, father, on my knee
 I give heaven thanks, I was not like to thee.

K. JOHN. Why, what a madcap hath heaven lent
 us here !

ELI. He hath a trick of Cœur-de-lion's face ²,
 The accent of his tongue affecteth him :
 Do you not read some tokens of my son
 In the large composition of this man ?

K. JOHN. Mine eye hath well examined his parts,
 And finds them perfect Richard.—Sirrah, speak,
 What doth move you to claim your brother's land ?

² He hath a *TRICK* of Cœur-de-lion's face,] The *trick*, or *tricking*, is the same as the tracing of a drawing, meaning that peculiarity of face which may be sufficiently shown by the slightest outline. This expression is used by Heywood and Rowley, in their comedy called *Fortune by Land and Sea* : " Her face, *the trick of her eye*, her leer."

The following passage, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, proves the phrase to be borrowed from delineation :

" — You can blazon the rest, Signior ?

" O ay, I have it in writing here o'purpose ; it cost me two shillings the *tricking*."

So again in *Cynthia's Revels* :

" — the parish-buckets with his name at length *trick'd* upon them." STEEVENS.

By a *trick*, in this place, is meant some peculiarity of look or motion. So, Helen, in *All's Well that Ends Well*, says, speaking of Bertram—

" — 'Twas pretty, though a plague,

" To see him every hour ; to sit and draw

" His arched brows, &c.

" In our heart's table ; heart too capable

" Of every line and *trick* of his sweet favour."

And Gloucester, in *King Lear*, says—

" The *trick* of that voice I do well remember."

M. MASON.

Our author often uses this phrase, and generally in the sense of a peculiar air or cast of countenance or feature. So, in *King Henry IV. Part I.* : " That thou art my son, I have partly thy mother's word, partly my own opinion ; but chiefly a villainous *trick* of thine eye.—" MALONE.

BAST. Because he hath a half-face, like my father ;

With that half-face³ would he have all my land :
A half-faced groat five hundred pound a year !

ROB. My gracious liege, when that my father liv'd,

Your brother did employ my father much ;—

BAST. Well, sir, by this you cannot get my land ;

Your tale must be, how he employ'd my mother.

ROB. And once despatch'd him in an embassy
To Germany, there, with the emperor,
To treat of high affairs touching that time ;
The advantage of his absence took the king,
And in the mean time sojourn'd at my father's ;

³ With that HALF-FACE—] The old copy—with *half that* face. But why with *half that* face? There is no question but the poet wrote, as I have restored the text: "*With that half-face—*." Mr. Pope, perhaps, will be angry with me for discovering an anachronism of our poet's in the next line, where he alludes to a coin not struck till the year 1504, in the reign of King Henry VII. viz. a groat, which, as well as the half groat, bore but half faces impressed. Vide Stowe's Survey of London, p. 47, Holinshed, Camden's remains, &c. The poet sneers at the meagre sharp visage of the elder brother, by comparing him to a silver groat that bore the king's face in profile, so showed but half the face: the groats of all our Kings of England, and indeed all their other coins of silver, one or two only excepted, had a full face crowned; till Henry VII. at the time above mentioned, coined groats and half-groats, as also some shillings with half faces, i. e. faces in profile, as all our coin has now. The first groats of King Henry VIII. were like those of his father; though afterwards he returned to the broad faces again. These groats with the impression in profile, are undoubtedly here alluded to: though as I said, the poet is knowingly guilty of an anachronism in it: for in the time of King John, there were no groats at all; they being first, as far as appears, coined in the reign of King Edward III. THEOBALD.

The same contemptuous allusion occurs in *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, 1601:

"You *half-fac'd groat*, you thick-cheek'd chitty-face."

Again, in *Histriomastix*, 1610:

"Whilst I behold yon *half-fac'd minion*." STEEVENS.

Where how he did prevail, I shame to speak :
 But truth is truth ; large lengths of seas and shores
 Between my father and my mother lay ⁴ ;
 (As I have heard my father speak himself,)
 When this same lusty gentleman was got.
 Upon his death-bed he by will bequeath'd
 His lands to me ; and took it, on his death ⁵ ;
 That this, my mother's son, was none of his ;
 And, if he were, he came into the world
 Full fourteen weeks before the course of time.
 Then, good my liege, let me have what is mine,
 My father's land, as was my father's will.

K. JOHN. Sirrah, your brother is legitimate ;
 Your father's wife did after wedlock bear him :
 And, if she did play false, the fault was hers ;
 Which fault lies on the hazards of all husbands
 That marry wives. Tell me, how if my brother,
 Who, as you say, took pains to get this son,
 Had of your father claim'd this son for his ?
 In sooth, good friend, your father might have kept
 This calf, bred from his cow, from all the world ⁶ ;
 In sooth, he might : then, if he were my brother's,

⁴ — large lengths of seas and shores

Between my father and my mother lay,] This is Homeric,
 and is thus rendered by Chapman in the first Iliad :

“ — hills enow, and farre-resounding seas

“ Powre out their shades and deepes between.”

Again, in Ovid, *De Tristibus*, IV. vii. 21 :

Innumeri montes inter me teque, viæque

Fluminaque et campi, nec freta pauca, jacent. STEEVENS.

⁵ — TOOK IT, on his death,] i. e. entertained it as his fixed
 opinion, when he was dying. So, in *Hamlet* :

“ ———— this, I take it,

“ Is the main motive of our preparation.” STEEVENS.

⁶ — your father might have kept

THIS CALF, bred from his COW, from all the world ;] The
 decision of King John coincides with that of Menie, the Indian
 lawgiver : “ Should a bull beget a hundred calves on cows not
 owned by his master, those calves belong solely to the proprietors
 of the cows.” See *The Hindu Laws, &c.* translated by Sir W.
 Jones, London edit. p. 251. STEEVENS.

My brother might not claim him ; nor your father,
Being none of his, refuse him : This concludes⁷,—
My mother's son did get your father's heir ;
Your father's heir must have your father's land.

ROB. Shall then my father's will be of no force,
To dispossess that child which is not his ?

BAST. Of no more force to dispossess me, sir,
Than was his will to get me, as I think.

ELI. Whether hadst thou rather,—be a Faulcon-
bridge,
And like thy brother, to enjoy thy land ;
Or the reputed son of Cœur-de-lion,
Lord of thy presence, and no land beside⁸ ?

BAST. Madam, an if my brother had my shape,
And I had his, sir Robert his, like him⁹ ;

⁷ This concludes.] This is a *decisive argument*. As your father, if he liked him, could not have been forced to resign him, so, not liking him, he is not at liberty to reject him. JOHNSON.

⁸ Lord of *thy* presence, and no land beside?] *Lord of thy presence* can signify only *master of thyself*, and it is a strange expression to signify even *that*. However, *that* he might be, without parting with his land. We should read— '*Lord of the presence*,' i. e. prince of the blood. WARBURTON.

"Lord of thy presence, and no land beside?" Lord of thy presence means, '*master of that dignity and grandeur of appearance that may sufficiently distinguish thee from the vulgar, without the help of fortune.*'

Lord of his presence apparently signifies, '*great in his own person*,' and is used in this sense by King John in one of the following scenes. JOHNSON.

⁹ And I had his, sir Robert *his*, like him;] This is obscure and ill expressed. The meaning is—'If I had his shape, sir Robert's—as he has.'

Sir Robert his, for *Sir Robert's*, is agreeable to the practice of that time, when the '*s*' added to the nominative was believed, I think erroneously, to be a contraction of *his*. So, Donne:

"—— Who now lives to age,

"Fit to be called Methusalem, *his* page?" JOHNSON.

This ought to be printed :

"—— sir Robert *his*, like him."

His, according to a mistaken notion formerly received, being the

And if my legs were two such riding-rods,
 My arms such eel-skins stuff'd ; my face so thin,
 That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,
 Lest men should say, Look, where three-farthings
 goes ¹ !

sign of the genitive case. As the text before stood there was a double genitive. MALONE.

¹ ——— my face so thin,

That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,

Lest men should say, Look, where THREE-FARTHINGS goes !]

In this very obscure passage our poet is anticipating the date of another coin ; humorously to rally a thin face, eclipsed, as it were, by a full blown *rose*. We must observe, to explain this allusion, that Queen Elizabeth was the first, and indeed the only prince, who coined in England three-half-pence, and three-farthing pieces. She coined shillings, six-pences, groats, three-pences, two-pences, three-half-pence, pence, three-farthings, and half-pence ; and these pieces all had her head, and were alternately with the *rose* behind, and without the *rose*. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald has not mentioned a material circumstance relative to these three-farthing pieces, on which the propriety of the allusion in some measure depends ; viz. that they were made of silver, and consequently extremely *thin*. From their thinness they were very liable to be cracked. Hence Ben Jonson, in his *Every Man in his Humour*, says, "He values me at a *cracked three-farthings*." MALONE.

So, in *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, &c. 1610 :

" ——— Here's a *three-penny piece* for thy tidings.

" *Firk*. 'Tis but three-half-pence I think : yes, 'tis three-pence ; I smell the *rose*." STEEVENS.

The sticking *roses* about them was then all the court-fashion, as appears from this passage of the Confession Catholique du S. de Sancy, l. ii. c. i. : " Je luy ay appris à mettre des *roses par tous les coins*:" i. e. " in every place about him," says the speaker, of one to whom he had taught all the court-fashions.

WARBURTON.

The *roses* stuck in the ear were, I believe, only *roses* composed of ribbands. In Marston's *What You Will* is the following passage : " Dupatzo the elder brother, the fool, he that bought the half-penny *ribband*, wearing it in his *ear*," &c. Again, in *Every Man out of his Humour* : " — This *ribband* in my *ear*, or so." Again, in *Love and Honour*, by Sir W. D'Avenant, 1649 :

" A lock on the left side, so rarely hung

" With *ribbanding*," &c.

I think I remember, among Vandyck's pictures in the Duke of

And, to his shape, were heir to all this land²,
 'Would I might never stir from off this place,
 I'd give it every foot to have this face ;
 I would not be sir Nob in any case³.

ELL. I like thee well ; Wilt thou forsake thy fortune,
 Bequeath thy land to him, and follow me ?

Queensbury's collection at Ambrosbury, to have seen one, with the lock nearest the ear ornamented with ribbands which terminate in roses ; and Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, says, "that it was once the fashion to stick real *flowers* in the ear."

At Kirtling, (vulgarly pronounced—*Catlage*,) in Cambridge-shire, the magnificent residence of the first Lord North, there is a juvenile portrait, (supposed to be of Queen Elizabeth,) with a red rose sticking in her ear." STEEVENS.

Marston, in his *Satires*, 1598, alludes to this fashion as fantastical :

"*Ribbanded cares, Grenada nether-stocks.*"

And from the epigrams of Sir John Davies, printed at Middleburgh, about 1598, it appears that some men of gallantry, in our author's time, suffered their ears to be bored, and wore their mistress's silken shoe-strings in them. MALONE.

² And, TO his shape, WERE heir to all this land,] There is no noun to which *were* can belong, unless the personal pronoun in the last line but one be understood here. I suspect that our author wrote—

"And *though* his shape were heir to all his land."

Thus the sentence proceeds in one uniform tenour. "Madam, *an if* my brother had my shape, and I had his—and *if* my legs were, &c.—and *though* his shape were heir, &c. I would give —."

MALONE.

The old reading is the true one. "*To* his shape" means, 'in addition to it.' So, in *Troilus and Cressida* :

"The Greeks are strong, and skilful *to* their strength,

"Fierce *to* their skill, and *to* their fierceness valiant."

Mr. M. Mason, however, would transpose the words *his* and *this* :

"And to *this* shape were heir to all *his* land."

By *this* shape, says he, Faulconbridge means, the shape he had been just describing. STEEVENS.

³ I would not be sir NOB —] Sir *Nob* is used contemptuously for Sir *Robert*. The old copy reads—"It would not be —." The correction was made by the editor of the second folio. I am not sure that it is necessary. MALONE.

I am a soldier, and now bound to France.

BAST. Brother, take you my land, I'll take my chance :

Your face hath got five hundred pounds a year ;
Yet sell your face for five pence, and 'tis dear.—
Madam, I'll follow you unto the death ⁴.

ELI. Nay, I would have you go before me thither.

BAST. Our country manners give our betters way.

K. JOHN. What is thy name ?

BAST. Philip, my liege ; so is my name begun ;
Philip, good old sir Robert's wife's eldest son.

K. JOHN. From henceforth bear his name whose
form thou bear'st :

Kneel thou down Philip, but rise more great ⁵ ;
Arise sir Richard, and Plantagenet ⁶.

BAST. Brother, by the mother's side, give me
your hand ;

My father gave me honour, yours gave land :—
Now blessed be the hour, by night or day,
When I was got, sir Robert was away.

ELI. The very spirit of Plantagenet !—

⁴ — unto the death.] This expression (a Gallicism,—à la mort) is common among our ancient writers. STEEVENS.

⁵ — but ARISE more great ;] The old copy reads only—rise. STEEVENS.

Perhaps, as Colonel Roberts suggested to me—"rise up more great." But I rather think *more* is a dissyllable. MALONE.

⁶ Arise sir Richard, and PLANTAGENET.] It is a common opinion, that *Plantagenet* was the surname of the royal house of England, from the time of King Henry II.; but it is, as Camden observes, in his *Remaines*, 1614, a popular mistake. *Plantagenet* was not a family name, but a nick-name, by which a grandson of Geoffrey, the first Earl of Anjou, was distinguished, from his wearing a *broom-stalk* in his bonnet. But this name was never borne either by the first Earl of Anjou, or by King Henry II. the son of that Earl by the Empress Maude ; he being always called *Henry Fitz-Empress* ; his son, Richard *Cœur-de-lion* ; and the prince who is exhibited in the play before us, John *sans-terre*, or *lack-land*. MALONE.

I am thy grandame, Richard ; call me so.

BAST. Madam, by chance, but not by truth :

What though⁷ ?

Something about, a little from the right⁸,

In at the window, or else o'er the hatch⁹ :

Who dares not stir by day, must walk by night ;

And have is have, however men do catch :

Near or far off, well won is still well shot ;

And I am I, howe'er I was begot.

K. JOHN. Go, Faulconbridge ; now hast thou thy desire,

A landless knight makes thee a landed 'squire.—

Come, madam, and come, Richard ; we must speed

For France, for France ; for it is more than need.

⁷ Madam, by chance, but not by truth : What though ?] I am your grandson, madam, by chance, but not by *honesty* ;—what then ? JOHNSON.

⁸ Something about, a little from the right, &c.] This speech, composed of allusive and proverbial sentences, is obscure. *I am*, says the sprightly knight, *your grandson*, a little *irregularly*, but every man cannot get what he wishes the legal way. He that *dares not go* about his designs *by day*, must *make his motions* in the *night* ; he, to whom the door is shut, must climb *the window*, or leap *the hatch*. This, however, shall not depress me ; for the world never enquires how any man got what he is known to possess, but allows that *to have* is *to have*, however it was *caught*, and that he *who wins*, *shot well*, whatever was his skill, whether the arrow fell *near* the mark, or *far off* it. JOHNSON.

⁹ In at the window, &c.] These expressions mean, to be 'born out of wedlock.' So, in *The Family of Love*, 1608 : "Woe worth the time that ever I gave suck to a child that *came in at the window* !" So, in *Northward Hoe*, by Decker and Webster, 1607 : "—kindred that comes in *o'er the hatch*, and sailing to Westminster," &c. Such another phrase occurs in *Any Thing for a Quiet Life* : "—then you keep children in the name of your own, which she suspects *came not in at the right door*." Again, in *The Witches of Lancashire*, by Heywood and Broome, 1634 : "—It appears then by your discourse that you *came in at the window*."—"I would not have you think I scorn my grannam's cat to leap *over the hatch*." Again : "—to escape the dogs hath leaped *in at a window*."—"Tis thought *you came into the world that way*,—because you are a *bastard*." STEEVENS.

BAST. Brother, adieu ; Good fortune come to thee !

For thou wast got i' the way of honesty.

[*Exeunt all but the Bastard.*

A foot of honour¹ better than I was ;

But many a many foot of land the worse.

Well, now can I make any Joan a lady :—

*Good den*², *sir Richard*.—*God-a-mercy*³, *fellow* ;—

And if his name be George, I'll call him Peter :

For new-made honour doth forget men's names ;

'Tis too respective, and too sociable,

For your conversion⁴. Now your traveller⁵,—

¹ A foot of honour —] *A step, un pas.* JOHNSON.

² *Good den*,] i. e. a good evening. So, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

“ God ye *good den*, fair gentlewoman.” STEEVENS.

³ — *sir Richard*,] Thus the old copy, and rightly. In Act IV. Salisbury calls him *sir Richard*, and the King has just knighted him by that name. The modern editors arbitrarily read, *sir Robert*. Faulconbridge is now entertaining himself with ideas of greatness, suggested by his recent knighthood.—*Good den, sir Richard*, he supposes to be the salutation of a vassal ; *God-a-mercy, fellow*, his own supercilious reply to it. STEEVENS.

⁴ 'Tis too RESPECTIVE, and too sociable

For your CONVERSION.] *Respective* is *respectful, formal*. So, in *The Case* is Altered, by Ben Jonson, 1609 : “ I pray you, sir ; you are too *respective* in good faith.” Again, in the old comedy called *Michaelmas Term*, 1607 : “ Seem *respective*, to make his pride swell like a toad with dew.” Again, in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act V. :

“ You should have been *respective*,” &c.

Again, in Chapman's version of the eleventh Iliad :

“ ——— his honourable blood

“ Was struck with a *respective* shame ; ” —

“ For your *conversion*” is the reading of the old copy, and may be right. It seems to mean, ‘ his late change of condition from a private gentleman to a knight.’ STEEVENS.

Mr. Pope, without necessity, reads—for your *conversing*. Our author has here, I think, used a licence of phrasology that he often takes. The Bastard has just said, that “ new-made honour doth *forget* men's names ;” and he proceeds as if he had said, “ does *not remember* men's names.” *To remember the name of an inferior*, he adds, has too much of the respect which is paid to superiors, and of the social and friendly familiarity of equals, for

He and his tooth-pick⁶ at my worship's mess⁷ ;
And when my knightly stomach is suffic'd,

your *conversion*,—for your present condition, now *converted* from the situation of a common man to the rank of a knight.

MALONE.

⁵ — Now your TRAVELLER,] It is said, in *All's Well That Ends Well*, that “a *traveller* is a good thing after dinner.” In that age of newly excited curiosity, one of the entertainments at great tables seems to have been the discourse of a traveller.

JOHNSON.

So, in *The Partyng of Frendes*, a Copy of Verses subjoined to Tho. Churchyard's Praise and Reporte of Maister Martyne Forboisher's Voyage to Meta Incognita, &c. 1578 :

“ ——— and all the parish throw

“ At church or market, in some sort, will talke of *trav'lar* now.” STEEVENS.

⁶ He and his TOOTH-PICK —] It has been already remarked, that to *pick the tooth*, and wear a *piqued beard*, were, in that time, marks of a man's affecting foreign fashions. JOHNSON.

Among Gascoigne's poems I find one entitled, Councell given to Maister Bartholomew Withipoll a little before his latter Journey to Geane, 1572. The following lines may, perhaps, be acceptable to the reader who is curious enough to enquire about the fashionable follies imported in that age :

“ Now, Sir, if I shall see your mastership

“ Come home disguis'd, and clad in quaint array ;—

“ As with a *pike-tooth* byting on your lippe ;

“ Your brave mustachios turn'd the Turkie way ;

“ A coptankt hat made on a Flemish blocke ;

“ A night-gowne cloake down trayling to your toes ;

“ A slender slop close couched to your dock ;

“ A curtolde slipper, and a short silk hose,” &c.

Again, in *Cynthia's Revels*, by Ben Jonson, 1601 : “ — A traveller, one so made out of the mixture and shreds of forms, that himself is truly deformed. He walks most commonly with a clove or *pick-tooth* in his mouth.” So also, Fletcher :

“ ——— You that trust in travel ;

“ You that enhance the daily price of *tooth-picks*.”

Again, in *Shirley's Grateful Servant*, 1630 : “ I will continue my state-posture, use my *tooth-pick* with discretion,” &c.

STEEVENS.

So, in *Sir Thomas Overbury's Characters*, 1616, [Article, an Affected Traveller:] “ He censures all things by countenances and shrugs, and speaks his own language with shame and lisp-ing : he will choke rather than confess beere good drink ; and his *tooth-pick* is a main part of his behaviour.” MALONE.

Why then I suck my teeth, and catechise
My picked man of countries :—*My dear sir,*

⁷ — at my worship's MESS ;] Means, at that part of the table where I, as a *knight*, shall be placed. See *The Winter's Tale*, vol. xiv. p. 258, n. 1.

"Your *worship*" was the regular address to a knight or esquire, in our author's time, as "your *honour*" was to a lord. MALONE.

⁸ My PICKED man of countries :] The word *picked* may not refer to the beard, but to the *shoes*, which were once worn of an immoderate length. To this fashion our author has alluded in *King Lear*, where the reader will find a more ample explanation. *Picked* may, however, mean only spruce in dress.

Chaucer says, in one of his prologues : "Fresh and new her geare *ypicked* was." And in *The Merchant's Tale* : "He kembeth him, and proineth him, and *piketh*." In Hyrd's translation of Vives's *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, printed in 1591, we meet with "*picked* and apparelled goodly—goodly and *pickedly* arrayed.—Licurgus, when he would have women of his country to be regarded by their virtue, and not their ornaments, banished out of the country, by the law, all painting, and commanded out of the town all crafty men of *picking* and apparelling." Again, in a comedy called *All Fools*, by Chapman, 1602 :

"'Tis such a *picked* fellow, not a haire

"About his whole bulk, but it stands in print."

Again, in *Love's Labour's Lost* : "He is too *picked*, too spruce," &c. Again, in *Greene's Defence of Coney-catching*, 1592, in the description of a pretended traveller : "There be in England, especially about London, certain quaint *pickt*, and neat companions, attired, &c. *alamode de France*," &c.

If a comma be placed after the word *man*,—"I catechise *my picked man*, of countries : " the passage will seem to mean, "I catechise my selected man, about the countries through which he travelled." STEEVENS.

The last interpretation of *picked*, offered by Mr. Steevens, is undoubtedly the true one. So, in *Wilson's Art of Rhetorique*, 1553 :—"such riot, dicyng, cardyng, *pyking*," &c. *Piked* or *picked*, (for the word is variously spelt,) in the writings of our author and his contemporaries, generally means, *spruce*, *affected*, *effeminate*.

See also *Minshew's Dict.* 1617 : "To *picke* or *trimme*. Vid. *Trimme*." MALONE.

My "picked man of countries" is—my travelled *fop*.

HOLT WHITE.

The word *picked* is still used in Devonshire, and when spoken of a man it means a keen, sharp fellow; a *picked* knife is the common description of a pointed knife. PHILLIPPS.

(Thus, leaning on mine elbow, I begin,) *I shall besecch you*—That is question now ;
 And then comes answer like an ABC-book ⁹ : — *
O sir, says answer, *at your best command ;*
At your employment ; at your service, sir :—
No, sir, says question, *I, sweet sir, at yours :*
 And so, ere answer knows what question would,
 (Saving in dialogue of compliment ¹ ;
 And talking of the Alps, and Apennines,
 The Pyrenean, and the river Po,) *It draws toward supper in conclusion so.*
 But this is worshipful society,
 And fits the mounting spirit, like myself :
 For he is but a bastard to the time ² ,
 That doth not smack of observation ;
 (And so am I, whether I smack, or no ;)
 And not alone in habit and device,

* First folio, *Absey*.

⁹ — like an ABC-BOOK :] An *ABC-book*, or, as they spoke and wrote it, an *absey-book*, is a *catechism*. JOHNSON.

So, in the ancient Interlude of Youth, bl. l. no date :

“ In the A. B. C. of bokes the least,

“ Yt is written, *Deus charitas est.*”

Again, in Tho. Nash's dedication to Greene's *Arcadia*, 1616 :
 “ — make a patrimony of *In speech*, and more than a younger brother's inheritance of their *Abcie.*” STEEVENS.

¹ And so, ere answer knows what question would,

(Saving in dialogue of COMPLIMENT ;] Sir W. Cornwallis's 28th Essay thus ridicules the extravagance of compliment in our poet's days, 1601 : “ We spend even at his (i. e. a friend's or a stranger's) entrance, a whole volume of words.—What a deal of synamon and ginger is sacrificed to dissimulation ! ‘ O, how blessed do I take mine eyes for presenting me with this sight ! O Signior, the star that governs my life in contentment, give me leave to interre myself in your arms !—Not so, sir, it is too unworthy an inclosure to contain such preciousness,’ &c. &c. This, and a cup of drink, makes the time as fit for a departure as can be.” TOLLET.

² For he is but a bastard to the time, &c.] He is accounted but a mean man, in the present age, who does not show, by his dress, his deportment, and his talk, that he has travelled, and made observations in foreign countries. The old copy, in the next line, reads—*smoak*. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

Exterior form, outward accoutrement ;
 But from the inward motion to deliver
 Sweet, sweet, sweet poison for the age's tooth :
 Which, though ³ I will not practise to deceive,
 Yet, to avoid deceit, I mean to learn ;
 For it shall strew the footsteps of my rising.—
 But who comes ⁴ in such haste, in riding robes ?
 What woman-post is this ? hath she no husband,
 That will take pains to blow a horn ⁵ before her ?

Enter Lady FAULCONBRIDGE and JAMES GURNEY ⁶.

O me ! it is my mother :—How now, good lady ?
 What brings you here to court so hastily ?

LADY F. Where is that slave, thy brother ? where
 is he ?

That holds in chase mine honour up and down ?

BAST. My brother Robert ? old sir Robert's son ?
 Colbrand ⁷ the giant, that same mighty man ?
 Is it sir Robert's son, that you seek so ?

LADY F. Sir Robert's son ! Ay, thou unreverend
 boy,
 Sir Robert's son : Why scorn'st thou at sir Robert ?

³ Which, though —] The construction will be mended, if instead of *which though*, we read—*this though*. JOHNSON.

⁴ But who comes —] Milton, in his tragedy, introduces Dalilah with such an interrogatory exclamation. JOHNSON.

⁵ — to blow a HORN —] He means, that a woman who travelled about like a *post*, was likely to *horn* her husband.

JOHNSON.

⁶ — James Gurney.] Our author found this name in perusing the history of King John, who, not long before his victory at Mirabeau, over the French, headed by young Arthur, seized the lands and castle of Hugh *Gorney*, near Butevant, in Normandy.

MALONE.

⁷ Colbrand —] *Colbrand* was a Danish giant, whom Guy of Warwick discomfited in the presence of King Athelstan. The combat is very pompously described by Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*.

JOHNSON.

Colbrand is also mentioned in the old romance of *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, sig. a. iii. :

“ Or els so doughty of my honde

“ As was the gyaunte syr *Colbronde*.” STEEVENS.

He is sir Robert's son ; and so art thou.

BAST. James Gurney, wilt thou give us leave a while ?

GUR. Good leave ^s, good Philip.

BAST. Philip ?—sparrow ⁹!—James, There's toys abroad ¹ ; anon I'll tell thee more.

[*Exit GURNEY.*]

^s Good leave, &c.] *Good leave* means a *ready assent*. So, in King Henry VI. Part III. Act III. Sc. II. :

“ *K. Edw.* Lords, give us leave : I'll try this widow's wit.

“ *Glo.* Ay, *good leave* have you, for you will have leave.”

STEEVENS.

⁹ Philip ?—sparrow !] Dr. Grey observes, that Skelton has a poem to the memory of Philip Sparrow ; and Mr. Pope, in a short note, remarks that a sparrow is called Philip. JOHNSON.

Gascoigne has likewise a poem entitled, *The Praise of Phil Sparrow* ; and in Jack Drum's *Entertainment*, 1601, is the following passage :

“ The birds sit chirping, chirping, &c.

“ *Philip* is treading, treading,” &c.

Again, in *The Northern Lass*, 1633 :

“ A bird whose pastime made me glad,

“ And *Philip* 'twas my *sparrow*.”

Again, in *Magnificence*, an ancient interlude, by Skelton, published by Rastell :

“ With me in *kepyng* such a *Phyllyp Sparowe*.”

STEEVENS.

The Bastard means : *Philip* ! Do you take me for a sparrow ?

HAWKINS.

The sparrow is called *Philip* from its note :

“ ——— cry

“ *Phip phip* the *sparrowes* as they fly.”

Lyly's Mother Bombie.

From the sound of the sparrow's chirping, Catullus, in his *Elegy on Lesbia's Sparrow*, has formed a verb :

Sed circumsilens modo huc, modo illuc,

Ad solam dominam usque pipilabat. HOLT WHITE.

¹ There's toys abroad ; &c.] i. e. rumours, idle reports. So, in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* :

“ ——— *Toys*, mere *toys*,

“ What wisdom's in the streets.”

Again, in a postscript of a letter from the Countess of Essex to Dr. Forman, in relation to the trial of Anne Turner, for the mur-

Madam, I was not old sir Robert's son ;
 Sir Robert might have eat his part in me
 Upon Good-friday, and ne'er broke his fast ² :
 Sir Robert could do well ; Marry, (to confess ³ !)
 Could he * get me ? Sir Robert could not do it ;
 We know his handy-work :—Therefore, good mother,

To whom am I beholden for these limbs ?
 Sir Robert never help to make this leg.

LADY F. Hast thou conspired with thy brother too,
 That for thine own gain should'st defend mine honour ?

What means this scorn, thou most untoward knave ?

BAST. Knight, knight, good mother,—Basilisco-like ⁴ :

* First folio omits *he*.

der of Sir Tho. Overbury : “ —they may tell my father and mother, and fill their ears full of *toys*.” *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 322.

STEEVENS.

² — might have eat his part in me

Upon Good-friday, and ne'er broke his fast :] This thought occurs in Heywood's *Dialogues upon Proverbs*, 1562 :

“ —he may his parte on good Fridaie eate,

“ And fast never the wurs, for ought he shall geate.”

STEEVENS.

³ — (to confess !)] Mr. M. Mason regards the adverb *to* as an error of the press : but I rather think, *to* confess, means—to come to confession. “ But, to come to a fair confession now, (says the Bastard,) could he have been the instrument of my production ?” STEEVENS.

⁴ KNIGHT, KNIGHT, good mother,—Basilisco-like :] Thus must this passage be pointed ; and to come at the humour of it, I must clear up an old circumstance of stage-history. Faulconbridge's words here carry a concealed piece of satire on a stupid drama of that age printed in 1599, and called *Soliman and Perseda*. In this piece there is a character of a bragging cowardly knight called Basilisco. His pretension to valour is so blown, and seen through, that Piston, a buffoon-servant in the play, jumps upon his back, and will not disengage him, till he makes Basilisco swear upon his dudgeon dagger to the contents, and in the terms he dictates to him ; as, for instance :

What ! I am dubb'd ; I have it on my shoulder.
 But, mother, I am not sir Robert's son ;
 I have disclaim'd sir Robert, and my land ;
 Legitimation, name, and all is gone :
 Then, good my mother, let me know my father :
 Some proper man, I hope : Who was it, mother ?

LADY F. Hast thou denied thyself a Faulcon-
 bridge ?

BAST. As faithfully as I deny the devil.

LADY F. King Richard Cœur-de-lion was thy
 father ;

By long and vehement suit I was seduc'd
 To make room for him in my husband's bed :——
 Heaven lay not my transgression to my charge !——
 Thou art ⁵ the issue of my dear offence,
 Which was so strongly urg'd, past my defence.

BAST. Now, by this light, were I to get again,
 Madam, I would not wish a better father.
 Some sins ⁶ do bear their privilege on earth,
 And so doth yours ; your fault was not your folly :
 Needs must you lay your heart at hisdispose,

“ Bas. O, I swear, I swear.

“ Pist. By the contents of this blade,—

“ Bas. By the contents of this blade,—

“ Pist. I, the aforesaid Basilisco,—

“ Bas. I, the aforesaid Basilisco,—*knight*, good fellow, *knight*.

“ Pist. *Knave*, good fellow, knave, knave.”

So that, it is clear, our poet is sneering at this play ; and makes Philip, when his mother calls him *knave*, throw off that reproach by humorously laying claim to his new dignity of *knighthood* ; as Basilisco arrogantly insists on his title of *knight*, in the passage above quoted. The old play is an execrable bad one ; and, I suppose, was sufficiently exploded in the representation : which might make this circumstance so well known, as to become the butt for a stage-sarcasm. THEOBALD.

The character of Basilisco is mentioned in Nash's *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, &c. printed in the year 1596. STEEVENS.

⁵ THOU art—] Old copy—*That* art. Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

⁶ Some sins—] There are *sins* that whatever be determined of them above, are not much censured *on earth*. JOHNSON.

Subjécted tribute to commanding love,
 Against whose fury and unmatched force
 The aweless lion could not wage the fight ⁷,
 Nor keep his princely heart from Richard's hand.
 He, that perforce robs lions of their hearts,
 May easily win a woman's. Ay, my mother,
 With all my heart I thank thee for my father !
 Who lives and dares but say, thou didst not well
 When I was got, I'll send his soul to hell.
 Come, lady, I will show thee to my kin ;
 And they shall say, when Richard me begot,
 If thou hadst said him nay, it had been sin :
 Who says it was, he lies ; I say, 'twas not.

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT II. SCENE I.

France. Before the Walls of Angiers.

Enter, on one side, the Archduke of Austria, and Forces ; on the other, PHILIP, King of France, and Forces ; LEWIS, CONSTANCE, ARTHUR, and Attendants.

LEW. Before Angiers well met, brave Austria.—
 Arthur, that great fore-runner of thy blood,

⁷ Needs must you lay your heart at his dispose,—

Against whose fury and unmatched force

The awless lion could not wage the fight, &c.] Shakspeare here alludes to the old metrical romance of Richard Cœur-de-lion, wherein this once celebrated monarch is related to have acquired his distinguishing appellation, by having plucked out a lion's heart, to whose fury he was exposed by the Duke of Austria, for having slain his son with a blow of his fist. From this ancient romance the story has crept into some of our old chronicles : but the original passage may be seen at large in the introduction to the third volume of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.

PERCY.

Richard, that robb'd the lion of his heart⁸,
 And fought the holy wars in Palestine,
 By this brave duke came early to his grave⁹:

⁸ Richard, that robb'd, &c.] So, Rastal, in his Chronicle: "It is sayd that a *lyon* was put to kynge *Richard*, beyng in prison to have devoured him, and when the *lyon* was gapyng he put his arm in his mouth, and pulled the *lyon* by the harte so harde that he slewe the *lyon*, and therefore some say he is called *Rycharde Cure de Lyon*; but some say he is called *Cure de Lyon*, because of his boldness and hardy stomake." GREY.

I have an old black-lettered History of Lord Faulconbridge, whence Shakspeare might pick up this circumstance. FARMER.

In Heywood's Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington, 1601, there is a long description of this fabulous atchievement.

The same story is told by Knighton, inter Decem Scriptores, and by Fabian, who calls it a *fable*. It probably took its rise from Hugh de Neville, one of Richard's followers, having killed a lion, when they were in the Holy Land: a circumstance recorded by Matthew Paris. MALONE.

⁹ By this brave duke came early to his grave:] The old play led Shakspeare into this error of ascribing to the Duke of Austria the death of Richard, who lost his life at the siege of Chaluz long after he had been ransomed out of Austria's power.

STEEVENS.

The producing Austria on the scene is also contrary to the truth of history, into which anachronism our author was led by the old play. Leopold, Duke of Austria, by whom Richard I. had been thrown in prison in 1193, died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, in 1195, some years before the commencement of the present play.

The original cause of the enmity between Richard the First and the Duke of Austria, was, according to Fabian, that Richard "tooke from a knighte of the Duke of Ostriche the said Duke's banner, and in despite of the said duke, trade it under foote, and did unto it all the spite he might." Harding says, in his Chronicle, that the cause of quarrel was Richard's taking down the Duke of Austria's arms and banner, which he had set up above those of the King of France and the King of Jerusalem. The affront was given when they lay before Acre in Palestine. This circumstance is alluded to in the old King John, where the Bastard, after killing Austria, says—

"And as my father triumph'd in thy spoils,

"And trod thine ensigns underneath his feet." &c.

Other historians say, that the Duke suspected Richard to have

And, for amends to his posterity,
 At our importance ¹ hither is he come,
 To spread his colours, boy, in thy behalf;
 And to rebuke the usurpation
 Of thy unnatural uncle, English John :
 Embrace him, love him, give him welcome hither.

ARTH. God shall forgive you Cœur-de-lion's
 death,

The rather, that you give his offspring life,
 Shadowing their right under your wings of war :
 I give you welcome with a powerless hand,
 But with a heart full of unstained love :
 Welcome before the gates of Angiers, duke.

LEW. A noble boy ! Who would not do thee
 right ?

ARST. Upon thy cheek lay I this zealous kiss,
 As seal to this indenture of my love ;
 That to my home I will no more return,
 Till Angiers, and the right thou hast in France,
 Together with that pale, that white-fac'd shore ²,
 Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides,
 And coops from other lands her islanders,
 Even till that England, hedg'd in with the main,
 That water-walled bulwark, still secure
 And confident from foreign purposes,
 Even till that utmost corner of the west
 Salute thee for her king : till then, fair boy,

been concerned in the assassination of his kinsman, the Marquis of Montferrat, who was stabbed in Tyre, soon after he had been elected King of Jerusalem ; but this was a calumny, propagated by Richard's enemies, for political purposes. MALONE.

¹ At our IMPORTANCE—] At our *importunity*. JOHNSON.

So, in Twelfth-Night :

“ ——— Maria writ

“ The letter at Sir Toby's great *importance*.” STEEVENS.

² — that pale, that white-fac'd shore,] England is supposed to be called Albion from the *white rocks* facing France. JOHNSON.

Will I not think of home, but follow arms.

CONST. O, take his mother's thanks, a widow's thanks,

Till your strong hand shall help to give him strength,

To make a more requital to your love³.

AUST. The peace of heaven is theirs, that lift their swords

In such a just and charitable war.

K. PHI. Well then, to work ; our cannon shall be bent

Against the brows of this resisting town.—

Call for our chieftest men of discipline,

To cull the plots of best advantages⁴ :—

We'll lay before this town our royal bones,

Wade to the market-place in Frenchmen's blood,

But we will make it subject to this boy.

CONST. Stay for an answer to your embassy,

Lest unadvis'd you stain your swords with blood :

My lord Chatillon may from England bring

That right in peace, which here we urge in war ;

And then we shall repent each drop of blood,

That hot rash haste so indirectly shed.

Enter CHATILLON.

K. PHI. A wonder, lady⁵ !—lo, upon thy wish,
Our messenger Chatillon is arriv'd.—

³ To make a MORE requital, &c.] I believe it has been already observed, that *more* signified, in our author's time, *greater*.

STEEVENS.

See Henry IV. Part I. Act IV. Sc. III. :

"The *more* and less came in with cap and knee." BOSWELL.

⁴ To cull the plots of best advantages:] i. e. to mark such stations as might most over-awe the town. HENLEY

⁵ A wonder, lady !] The wonder is only that Chatillon happened to arrive at the moment when Constance mentioned him ; which the French king, according to a superstition which prevails more or less, in every mind agitated by great affairs, turns into a miraculous interposition, or omen of good. JOHNSON.

What England says, say briefly, gentle lord,
We coldly pause for thee ; Chatillon, speak.

CHAT. Then turn your forces from this paltry
siege,

And stir them up against a mightier task.
England, impatient of your just demands,
Hath put himself in arms ; the adverse winds,
Whose leisure I have staid, have given him time
To land his legions all as soon as I :
His marches are expedient ⁶ to this town,
His forces strong, his soldiers confident.
With him along is come the mother-queen,
An Até, stirring him to blood and strife ⁷ ;
With her her niece, the lady Blanch of Spain ;
With them a bastard of the king's deceas'd ⁸ :
And all the unsettled humours of the land,
Rash, inconsiderate, fry voluntaries,
With ladies' faces, and fierce dragons' spleens,
Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,

⁶ —expedient—] Immediate, expeditious. JOHNSON.
So, in King Henry VI. Part II. :

“ A breach that craves a quick, *expedient* stop.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ An ATE, stirring him, &c.] *Até* was the Goddess of Revenge. The player-editors read—An *Acc*. STEEVENS.

Corrected by Mr. Rowe. MALONE.

This image might have been borrowed from the celebrated libel, called Leicester's Commonwealth, originally published about the year 1584 : “ —She standeth like a fiend or *fury*, at the elbow of her Amadis, to *stirre* him forward when occasion shall serve.” STEEVENS.

⁸ With them a bastard of the KING's deceas'd.] This line, except the word *with*, is borrowed from the old play of King John, already mentioned. See p. 202, n.8. Our author should have written—*king*, and so the modern editors read. But there is certainly no corruption, for we have the same phraseology elsewhere.

MALONE.

It may as justly be said that the same error has been elsewhere repeated by the same illiterate compositors. STEEVENS.

The phraseology which Mr. Steevens objects to is common at this day. BOSWELL.

Bearing their birthrights proudly on their backs⁹,
 To make a hazard of new fortunes here.
 In brief, a braver choice of dauntless spirits,
 Than now the English bottoms have waft o'er¹,
 Did never float upon the swelling tide,
 To do offence and scath² in Christendom.
 The interruption of their churlish drums

[*Drums beat.*

Cuts off more circumstance : they are at hand,
 To parley, or to fight ; therefore, prepare.

K. PHILIP. How much unlook'd for is this expedition!

AUSTIN. By how much unexpected, by so much
 We must awake endeavour for defence ;
 For courage mounteth with occasion :
 Let them be welcome then, we are prepar'd.

*Enter King JOHN, ELINOR, BLANCH, the Bastard,
 PEMBROKE, and Forces.*

K. JOHN. Peace be to France ; if France in
 peace permit
 Our just and lineal entrance to our own !
 If not ; bleed France, and peace ascend to heaven !
 Whiles we, God's wrathful agent, do correct
 Their proud contempt that beat his peace to
 heaven.

⁹ Bearing their birthrights, &c.] So, in King Henry VIII. :

" ——— O, many

" Have broke their backs with laying manors on them."

JOHNSON.

¹ Than now the English bottoms have waft o'er.] *Waft*, for
wafted. So again in this play :

" The iron of itself, though *heat* red hot—"

i. e. *heated*. STEEVENS.

² — scath —] Destruction, harm. JOHNSON.

So, in *How to Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad*, 1602 :

" For these accounts, 'faith it shall *scath* thee something."

Again :

" And it shall *scath* him somewhat of my purse."

STEEVENS.

K. PHIL. Peace be to England ; if that war return
 From France to England, there to live in peace !
 England we love ; and, for that England's sake,
 With burden of our armour here we sweat :
 This toil of ours should be a work of thine ;
 But thou from loving England art so far,
 That thou hast under-wrought ³ his lawful king,
 Cut off the sequence of posterity,
 Outfaced infant state, and done a rape
 Upon the maiden virtue of the crown.
 Look here upon thy brother Geoffrey's face ;—
 These eyes, these brows, were moulded out of his :
 This little abstract doth contain that large,
 Which died in Geoffrey ; and the hand of time
 Shall draw this brief ⁴ into as huge a volume.
 That Geoffrey was thy elder brother born,
 And this his son ; England was Geoffrey's right,
 And this is Geoffrey's ⁵ : In the name of God,
 How comes it then, that thou art call'd a king,
 When living blood doth in these temples beat,
 Which owe the crown that thou o'ermasterest ?

K. JOHN. From whom hast thou this great com-
 mission, France,
 To draw my answer from thy articles ⁶ ?

³ — under-wrought —] i. e. underworked, undermined.

STEEVENS.
⁴ — this BRIEF —] A *brief* is a *short writing, abstract, or de-*
scription. *STEEVENS.*

So, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* :

“ Here is a *brief* how many sports are ripe.” *MALONE.*

⁵ England was Geoffrey's right,

And *THIS* is Geoffrey's :] I have no doubt but we should read—
 “ And *his* is Geoffrey's.” The meaning is, “ England was Geoffrey's
 right, and whatever was Geoffrey's, is now *his*,” pointing to Arthur.

M. MASON.

⁶ To draw my answer FROM thy articles ?] I think we should
 read :

“ To draw my answer *to* thy articles ? ”

From seems to have been caught from the preceding line.

ROBERTS.

K. PHIL. From that supernal judge, that stirs good thoughts

In any breast of strong authority,
To look into the blots and stains of right?⁷
That judge hath made me guardian to this boy:
Under whose warrant, I impeach thy wrong;
And, by whose help, I mean to chastise it.

K. JOHN. Alack, thou dost usurp authority.

K. PHIL. Excuse; it is to beat usurping down.

ELL. Who is it, thou dost call usurper, France?

CONST. Let me make answer;—thy usurping son.

ELL. Out, insolent! thy bastard shall be king;
That thou may'st be a queen, and check the world!⁸

⁷ To look into the *BLOTS* and stains of right.] Mr. Theobald reads, with the first folio, *blots*, which being so early authorized, and so much better understood, needed not to have been changed by Dr. Warburton to *bolts*, though bolts might be used in that time for *spots*: so Shakspeare calls Banquo "*spotted with blood, the blood-bolter'd Banquo*." The verb to *bolt* is used figuratively for to *disgrace*, a few lines lower. And, perhaps, after all, *bolts* was only a typographical mistake. JOHNSON.

Blots is certainly right. The illegitimate branch of a family always carried the arms of it with what, in ancient heraldry, was called a *blot* or *difference*. So, in Drayton's Epistle from Queen Isabel to King Richard II.:

"No bastard's mark doth *blot* his conquering shield."

Blots and *stains* occur again together in the first scene of the third Act. STEEVENS.

Blot had certainly the heraldical sense mentioned by Mr. Steevens. But it here, I think, means only *blemishes*. So again, in Act III. Sc. I.:

"Full of unpleasing *blots* and sightless stains."

MALONE.

⁸ That thou may'st be a queen, and check the world!] "Surely (says Holinshed) Queen Eleanor, the kyngs mother, was sore against her nephew Arthur, rather moved thereto by envye conceived against his mother, than upon any just occasion, given in the behalfe of the childe; for that she saw, if he were king, *how his mother Constance would looke to beare the most rule within the realme of Englande*, till her sonne should come to a lawfull age

CONST. My bed was ever to thy son as true,
 As thine was to thy husband : and this boy
 Likier in feature to his father Geffrey,
 Than thou and John in manners ; being as like,
 As rain to water, or devil to his dam.
 My boy a bastard ! By my soul, I think,
 His father never was so true begot ;
 It cannot be, an if thou wert his mother⁸.

ELI. There's a good mother, boy, that blots thy father.

CONST. There's a good grandam, boy, that would blot thee.

AUST. Peace !

BAST. Hear the crier⁹.

AUST. What the devil art thou ?

BAST. One that will play the devil, sir, with you,
 An 'a may catch your hide and you alone¹.

to governe of himselfe. So hard a thing it is, to bring women to agree in one minde, their natures commonly being so contrary."

MALONE.

⁸ — an if THOU wert his mother ;] Constance alludes to Elinor's infidelity to her husband, Lewis the Seventh, when they were in the Holy Land ; on account of which he was divorced from her. She afterwards (1151) married our King Henry II. MALONE

⁹ Hear the CRIER.] Alluding to the usual proclamation for silence, made by criers in courts of justice, beginning *Oyez*, corruptly pronounced *O-Yes*. Austria has just said *Peace* !

MALONE.

¹ One that will play the devil, sir, with you,

An 'a may catch your HIDE and you alone.] The ground of the quarrel of the Bastard to Austria is no where specified in the present play. But the story is, that Austria, who killed King Richard Cœur-de-lion, wore, as the spoil of that prince, a lion's hide, which had belonged to him. This circumstance renders the anger of the Bastard very natural, and ought not to have been omitted. POPE.

See p. 220, n. 7, and p. 221, n. 8. MALONE.

The omission of this incident was natural. Shakspeare having familiarised the story to his own imagination, forgot that it was obscure to his audience ; or, what is equally probable, the story was then so popular, that a hint was sufficient, at that time, to bring it

You are the hare² of whom the proverb goes,
Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard;
I'll smoke your skin-coat, an I catch you right;
Sirrah, look to't; i' faith, I will, i' faith.

BLANCH. O, well did he become that lion's robe,
That did disrobe the lion of that robe!

BAST. It lies as sightly on the back of him,
As great Alcides' shoes upon an ass³:—

to mind; and these plays were written with very little care for the approbation of posterity. JOHNSON.

² You are the HARE —] So, in The Spanish Tragedy:

"He hunted well that was a lion's death;

"Not he that in a garment wore his skin:

"So *hares* may pull dead lions by the beard."

See p. 198, n. 3. STEEVENS.

The proverb alluded to is, "*Mortuo leoni et lepores insultant.*"
Erasmi Adag. MALONE.

³ It lies as sightly on the back of him,

As great Alcides' SHOES upon an ass:] But why his *shoes*, in the name of propriety? For let Hercules and his *shoes* have been really as big as they were ever supposed to be, yet they (I mean the *shoes*) would not have been an overload for an ass. I am persuaded I have retrieved the true reading [shows]; and let us observe the justness of the comparison now. Faulconbridge, in his resentment, would say this to Austria: "That lion's skin, which my great father King Richard once wore, looks as uncouthly on thy back, as that other noble hide, which was borne by Hercules, would look on the back of an ass." A double allusion was intended; first, to the fable of the ass in the lion's skin; then Richard I. is finely set in competition with Alcides, as Austria is satirically coupled with the ass. THEOBALD.

This endeavour to make our author's similes exactly correspond on both sides, is, as has been more than once observed, the source of many errors. MALONE.

The *shoes* of Hercules are more than once introduced in the old comedies, on much the same occasions. So, in The Isle of Gulls, by J. Day, 1606: "— are as fit, as Hercules's *shoe* for the foot of a pigmy." Again, in Greene's Epistle Dedicatory to Perimedes the Blacksmith, 1588: "— and so, lest I should shape *Hercules' shoe* for a *child's foot*, I commend your worship to the Almighty." Again, in Greene's Penelope's Web, 1601: "I will not make a long harvest for a small crop, nor go about to pull a *Hercules' shoe* on Achilles foot." Again, *ibid.*: "*Hercules' shoe* will never serve a *child's foot*." Again, in Stephen Gosson's School of Abuse,

But, ass, I'll take that burden from your back ;
Or lay on that, shall make your shoulders crack.

Aust. What cracker is this same, that deafs our
ears

With this abundance of superfluous breath ?

K. Phil. Lewis, determine⁴ what we shall do
straight.

Lew. Women and fools, break off your conference.—

King John, this is the very sum of all,—

1579: “ — to draw the lion's skin upon *Æsop's* asse, or *Hercules' shoes* on a childes feete.” Again, in the second of William Ranks's Seven Satyres, &c. 1598:

“ Yet in *Alcides' buskins* will he stalke.” STEEVENS.

“ — upon an ass :” i. e. upon the *hoofs* of an ass. Mr. Theobald thought the *shoes* must be placed on the *back* of the ass ; and, therefore, to avoid this incongruity, reads—*Alcides' shows*.

MALONE.

⁴ *K. Phil.* Lewis, determine, &c.] Thus Mr. Malone, and perhaps rightly ; for the next speech is given, in the old copy, (as it stands in the present text,) to Lewis the dauphin, who was afterwards Lewis VIII. The speech itself, however, seems sufficiently appropriated to the King ; and nothing can be inferred from the folio, with any certainty, but that the editors of it were careless and ignorant. STEEVENS.

In the old copy this line stands thus :

“ King Lewis, determine what we shall do straight.”

To the first three speeches spoken in this scene by King Philip, the word *King* only is prefixed. I have therefore given this line to him. The transcriber or compositor having, I imagine, forgotten to distinguish the word *King* by Italicks, and to put a full point after it, these words having been printed as part of Austria's speech : “ King Lewis,” &c.; but such an arrangement must be erroneous, for Lewis was not King. Some of our author's editors have left Austria in possession of the line, and corrected the error by reading here : “ *King Philip*, determine,” &c. and giving the next speech to him, instead of Lewis.

I once thought that the line before us might stand as part of Austria's speech, and that he might have addressed Philip and the Dauphin by the words, King,—Lewis, &c. but the addressing Philip by the title of King, without any addition, seems too familiar, and I therefore think it more probable that the error happened in the way above stated. MALONE.

England, and Ireland, Anjou⁵, Touraine, Maine,
In right of Arthur do I claim of thee :

Wilt thou resign them, and lay down thy arms ?

K. JOHN. My life as soon :—I do defy thee,
France.

Arthur of Bretagne, yield thee to my hand ;
And, out of my dear love, I'll give thee more
Than e'er the coward hand of France can win :
Submit thee, boy.

ELI. Come to thy grandam, child.

CONST. Do, child, go to it' grandam, child ;
Give grandam kingdom, and it' grandam will
Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig :
There's a good grandam.

ARTH. Good my mother, peace !
I would, that I were low laid in my grave ;
I am not worth this coil that's made for me.

ELI. His mother shames him so, poor boy, he
weeps.

CONST. Now shame upon you, whe'r she does,
or no⁶ !

His grandam's wrongs, and not his mother's shames,
Draw those heaven-moving pearls from his poor
eyes,

Which heaven shall take in nature of a fee ;
Ay, with these crystal beads heaven shall be brib'd
To do him justice, and revenge on you.

⁵ — Anjou,] Old copy—*Angiers*. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

⁶ Now shame upon you, WHE'R SHE does, or no !] *Whe'r* for *whether*. So, in an Epigram, by Ben Jonson :

“ Who shall doubt, Donne, *whe'r* I a poet be,

“ When I dare send my epigrams to thee ?”

Again, in Gower's *De Confessione Amantis*, 1532 :

“ That maugre *where* she wolde or not —.” MALONE.

Read :—“ *whe'r* he does, or no !”—i. e. ‘ whether he weeps or not.’ Constance, so far from admitting, expressly denies that *she* shames him. RITSON.

ELI. Thou monstrous slanderer of heaven and earth !

CONST. Thou monstrous injurer of heaven and earth !

Call not me slanderer ; thou, and thine, usurp
The dominations, royalties, and rights,
Of this oppressed boy : This is thy eldest son's
son ⁷,

Infortunate in nothing but in thee ;
Thy sins are visited in this poor child ;
The cannon of the law is laid on him,
Being but the second generation
Removed from thy sin-conceiving womb.

K. JOHN. Bedlam, have done.

CONST. I have but this to say,—
That he's not only plagued for her sin,
But God hath made her sin and her the plague ⁸

⁷ Of this oppressed boy : THIS IS thy eldest son's son,] Mr. Ritson would omit the redundant words—" This is," and read :

" Of this oppressed boy : thy eldest son's son."

STEEVENS.

⁸ I have but this to say,—

That he's not only plagued for her sin,

But God hath made her sin and her the plague, &c.] This passage appears to me very obscure. The chief difficulty arises from this, that Constance having told Elinor of her *sin-conceiving womb*, pursues the thought, and uses *sin* through the next lines in an ambiguous sense, sometimes for *crime*, and sometimes for *offspring*.

" He's not only plagued for her *sin*," &c. He is not only made miserable by vengeance for her *sin* or *crime* ; but her *sin*, her *offspring*, and she, are made the instruments of that vengeance, on this descendant ; who, though of the second generation, is " plagued for her and with her ; " to whom she is not only the cause but the instrument of evil.

The next clause is more perplexed. All the editions read :

" — plagu'd for her,

" And with her plague her sin ; his injury

" Her injury, the beadle to her sin,

" All punish'd in the person of this child."

I point thus :

On this removed issue, plagu'd for her,
And with her plague, her sin ; his injury

“ — plagu'd for her

“ And with her.—Plague her *son* ! his injury

“ Her injury, the beadle to her sin.”

That is, instead of inflicting vengeance on this innocent and remote descendant, *punish her son*, her immediate offspring: then the affliction will fall where it is deserved; *his injury* will be *her injury*, and the misery of her *sin*; her son will be a *beadle*, or chastiser, of her *crimes*, which are now *all punish'd in the person of this child*. JOHNSON.

Mr. Roderick reads :

“ — plagu'd for her,

“ And with her *plagu'd* ; her sin, his injury —.”

We may read :

“ But God hath made her sin and her the plague

“ On this removed issue, plagu'd for her ;

“ And, with her sin, her plague, his injury

“ Her injury, the beadle to her sin.”

i. e. “ God hath made her and her sin together, the plague of her most remote descendants, who are plagued for her ;” the same power hath likewise “ made her sin her own plague, and the injury she has done to him her own injury, as a beadle to lash that sin.” i. e. Providence has so ordered it, that she who is made the instrument of punishment to another, has, in the end, converted that other into an instrument of punishment for herself. STEEVENS.

Constance observes that *he* (*iste*, pointing to King John, “ whom from the flow of gall she names not,”) is not only plagued [with the present war] for his mother's sin, but God hath made her sin and her the plague also on this removed issue [Arthur], plagued on her account, and by the means of her sinful offspring, whose injury [the usurpation of Arthur's rights] may be considered as her injury, or the injury of her sin-conceiving womb; and John's injury may also be considered as the beadle or officer of correction employed by her crimes to inflict all these punishments on the person of this child. TOLLET.

Plagued, in these plays, generally means *punished*. So, in King Richard III. :

“ And God, not we, hath *plagu'd* thy bloody deed.”

So, Holinshed : “ — they for very remorse and dread of the divine *plague*, will either shamefully flie,” &c.

Not being satisfied with any of the emendations proposed, I have adhered to the original copy. I suspect that two half lines have been lost after the words—“ And with her—.” If the text

Her injury,—the beadle to her sin ;
All punish'd in the person of this child,

be right, *with*, I think, means *by*, (as in many other passages,) and Mr. Tollet's interpretation is the true one. *Removed*, I believe, here signifies *remote*. So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* :

"From Athens is her house *remov'd* seven leagues."

MALONE.

Much as the text of this note has been belaboured, the original reading needs no alteration :

"——I have but this to say,

"That he's not only plagued for her sin,

"But God hath made her sin and her the plague

"On this removed issue, plagued for her,

"And with her plague, her sin ; his injury,

"Her injury, the beadle to her sin,

"All punish'd in the person of this child."

The key to these words is contained in the last speech of Constance, where she alludes to the denunciation of the *second commandment* of "visiting the iniquities of the parents upon the children, unto the *third* and *fourth* generation," &c.

"Thou monstrous injurer of heaven and earth !

* * * * *

"This is thy eldest son's son,

* * * * *

"Thy sins are *visited* in this poor child ;

"The *cannon of the law* is laid on him,

"Being but the *second generation*,

"Removed from thy sin-conceiving womb."

Young Arthur is here represented as not only suffering *from* the guilt of his grandmother ; but, also, by *her*, in person, she being made the very instrument of his sufferings. As he was not here *immediate*, but *removed issue*—the *second generation from her sin-conceiving womb*—it might have been expected, that the evils to which, upon her account, he was obnoxious, would have *incidentally* befallen him ; instead of his being punished for them all, by *her immediate infliction*.—He is not only plagued on account of her sin, according to the threatening of the commandment, but she is preserved alive to her *second generation*, to be the instrument of inflicting on her grandchild the penalty annexed to her sin : so that *he is plagued on her account*, and *with her plague*, which is, *her sin*, that is, [taking, by a common figure, the cause for the consequence] the *penalty entailed upon it*. *His injury*, or, the evil *he* suffers, *her sin* brings upon him, and *her injury*, or, the evil *she* inflicts, he suffers from *her*, as the

And all for her ; A plague upon her !

ELI. Thou unadvised scold, I can produce
A will, that bars the title of thy son.

CONST. Ay, who doubts that ? a will ! a wicked
will ;

A woman's will : a canker'd grandam's will !

K. PHI. Peace, lady ; pause, or be more temperate :

It ill beseems this presence, to cry aim

To these ill-tuned repetitions⁹.—

Some trumpet summon hither to the walls

These men of Angiers ; let us hear them speak,

Whose title they admit, Arthur's or John's.

beadle to her sin, or executioner of the punishment annexed to it. HENLEY.

⁹ It ill beseems this presence, to CRY AIM

To these ill-tuned repetitions.] Dr. Warburton has well observed, on one of the former plays, that to “cry aim” is to *encourage*. I once thought it was borrowed from archery ; and that *aim* ! having been the word of command, as we now say *present* ! to cry *aim* had been to *incite notice*, or raise *attention*. But I rather think that the old word of applause was *J'aime*, I love it, and that to applaud was to cry *J'aime*, which the English, not easily pronouncing *Je*, sunk into *aime*, or *aim*. Our exclamations of applause are still borrowed, as *bravo* and *encore*.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson's first thought, I believe, is best. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love's Cure*, or *The Martial Maid* :

“ — Can I cry aim

“ To this against myself ? — ”

Again, in Tarlton's *Jests*, 1611 : “ The people had much ado to keep peace : but Bankes and Tarleton had like to have squared, and the horse by, to *give aime*.” Again, in Churchyard's *Charge*, 1580, p. 8, b :

“ Yet he that stands, and *giveth aime*,

“ Maie judge what shott doeth lose the game ;

“ What shooter beats the marke in vaine,

“ Who shooteth faire, who shooteth plaine.”

Again, in our author's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, where Ford says : “ — and to these violent proceedings all my neighbours shall *cry aim*.” See vol. viii. p. 98, n. 7. STEEVENS.

Trumpets sound. Enter Citizens upon the walls.

1 *CIT.* Who is it, that hath warn'd us to the walls ?

K. PHI. 'Tis France, for England.

K. JOHN. England, for itself:
You men of Angiers, and my loving subjects,—

K. PHI. You loving men of Angiers, Arthur's subjects,
Our trumpet call'd you to this gentle parle.

K. JOHN. For our advantage ;—Therefore, hear us first ¹.——

These flags of France, that are advanced here
Before the eye and prospect of your town,
Have hither march'd to your endamagement :
The cannons have their bowels full of wrath :
And ready mounted are they, to spit forth
Their iron indignation 'gainst your walls :
All preparation for a bloody siege,
And merciless proceeding by these French,
Confront your city's eyes ², your winking gates ³ ;
And, but for our approach, those sleeping stones,
That as a waist do girdle you about,
By the compulsion of their ordnance
By this time from their fixed beds of lime
Had been dishabited ⁴, and wide havock made

¹ For our advantage ;—Therefore, hear us first.] If we read—"For *your* advantage," it will be a more specious reason for interrupting Philip. TYRWHITT.

² CONFRONT your city's eyes,] The old copy reads—*Confront*, &c. Mr. Rowe made this necessary change. STEEVENS.

³ —your WINKING gates ;] i. e. gates hastily closed from an apprehension of danger. So, in King Henry IV. Part II. :

"And *winking* leap'd into *destruction*." MALONE.

So, in Old Fortunatus, 1600 : "Whether it were lead or latten that hasp'd those *winking* casements, I know not." STEEVENS.

⁴ —dishabited,] i. e. dislodged, violently removed from their places :—a word, I believe, of our author's coinage. STEEVENS.

For bloody power to rush upon your peace.
 But, on the sight of us, your lawful king,——
 Who painfully, with much expedient march,
 Have brought a countercheck⁵ before your gates,
 To save unscratch'd your city's threaten'd cheeks,—
 Behold, the French, amaz'd, vouchsafe a parle:
 And now, instead of bullets wrapp'd in fire,
 To make a shaking fever in your walls,
 They shoot but calm words, folded up in smoke⁶,
 To make a faithless error in your ears:
 Which trust accordingly, kind citizens,
 And let us in, your king; whose labour'd spirits,
 Forwearied⁷ in this action of swift speed,
 Crave harbourage within your city walls.

K. PHIL. When I have said, make answer to us both.

Lo, in this right hand, whose protection
 Is most divinely vow'd upon the right
 Of him it holds, stands young Plantagenet;
 Son to the elder brother of this man,
 And king o'er him, and all that he enjoys:
 For this down-trodden equity, we tread
 In warlike march these greens before your town;
 Being no further enemy to you,
 Than the constraint of hospitable zeal,
 In the relief of this oppressed child,
 Religiously provokes. Be pleased then

⁵ — a COUNTERCHECK —] This, I believe, is one of the ancient terms used in the game of chess. So, in Mucedorus, 1598:

“Post hence thyself, thou *counterchecking* trull.”

STEEVENS.

⁶ They shoot but calm words, FOLDED UP IN SMOKE,] So, in our author's Rape of Lucrece:

“This helpless *smoke of words*, doth me no right.”

MALONE.

⁷ Forwearied —] i. e. worn out, Sax. So, Chaucer, in his Romaunt of the Rose, speaking of the mantle of Avarice:

“And if it were *forwerid*, she

“Would havin,” &c. STEEVENS.

To pay that duty, which you truly owe,
 To him that owes it ⁸; namely, this young prince :
 And then our arms, like to a muzzled bear,
 Save in aspéct, have all offence seal'd up ;
 Our cannons' malice vainly shall be spent
 Against the invulnerable clouds of heaven ;
 And, with a blessed and unvex'd retire,
 With unhack'd swords, and helmets all unbruis'd,
 We will bear home that lusty blood again,
 Which here we came to spout against your town,
 And leave your children, wives, and you, in peace.
 But if you fondly pass our proffer'd offer,
 'Tis not the roundure ⁹ of your old-fac'd walls
 Can hide you from our messengers of war ;
 Though all these English, and their discipline,
 Were harbour'd in their rude circumference.
 Then, tell us, shall your city call us lord,
 In that behalf which we have challeng'd it ?

⁸ To him that OWES it ;] *Owes* is here, as in other books of our author's time, used for *own*. MALONE.

See our author and his contemporaries, *passim*. So, in *Othello* :

“ ——— that sweet sleep

“ That thou *ow'dst* yesterday.” STEEVENS.

This use of the word continued till the time of Charles II. I am possessed of a volume containing Legh's *Accedens of Armory*, and Bossewell's *Works of Armorie*, bound up together, which is ascertained to have been formerly the property of Randle Holme (I suppose the antiquary), by these whimsical lines written in a fly-leaf at the beginning :

“ Randle Holme this book doth *owe*,

“ William Holme the same doth knowe ;

“ R. Holme junier will testefie,

“ That William Holme doth not lye.” BOSWELL.

⁹ 'Tis not the ROUNDURE, &c.] *Roundure* means the same as the French *rondeur*, i. e. the circle.

So, in *All's Lost by Lust*, a tragedy by Rowley, 1633 :

“ ——— will she meet our arms

“ With an alternate *roundure* ? ”

Again, in Shakspeare's 21st Sonnet :

“ ——— all things rare,

“ That heaven's air in this huge *rondure* hems.”

STEEVENS.

Or shall we give the signal to our rage,
And stalk in blood to our possession ?

1 *CIT.* In brief, we are the king of England's
subjects ;

For him, and in his right, we hold this town.

K. JOHN. Acknowledge then the king, and let
me in.

1 *CIT.* That can we not : but he that proves the
king,

To him will we prove loyal ; till that time,
Have we ramm'd up our gates against the world.

K. JOHN. Doth not the crown of England prove
the king ?

And, if not that, I bring you witnesses,
Twice fifteen thousand hearts of England's breed,—

BAST. Bastards, and else.

K. JOHN. To verify our title with their lives.

K. PHI. As many, and as well-born bloods as
those,——

BAST. Some bastards too.

K. PHI. Stand in his face, to contradict his
claim.

1 *CIT.* Till you compound whose right is wor-
thiest,

We, for the worthiest, hold the right from both.

K. JOHN. Then God forgive the sin of all those
souls,

That to their everlasting residence,
Before the dew of evening fall, shall fleet,
In dreadful trial of our kingdom's king !

K. PHI. Amen, Amen !—Mount, chevaliers ! to
arms !

BAST. St. George,—that swing'd the dragon, and
e'er since,

Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door,
Teach us some fence !—Sirrah, were I at home,
At your den, sirrah, [*To AUSTRIA.*] with your lioness,

I'd set an ox-head to your lion's hide¹,
And make a monster of you.

AUST. Peace ; no more.

BAST. O, tremble ; for you hear the lion roar.

K. JOHN. Up higher to the plain ; where we'll
set forth,

In best appointment, all our regiments.

BAST. Speed then, to take advantage of the
field.

K. PHI. It shall be so ;—[*To LEWIS.*] and at the
other hill

Command the rest to stand.—God, and our right !
[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II.

The Same.

*Alarums and Excursions ; then a Retreat. Enter
a French Herald, with trumpets, to the gates.*

F. HER. You men of Angiers, open wide your
gates²,
And let young Arthur, duke of Bretagne, in ;
Who, by the hand of France, this day hath made
Much work for tears in many an English mother,
Whose sons lie scatter'd on the bleeding ground :
Many a widow's husband groveling lies,
Coldly embracing the discolour'd earth ;
And victory, with little loss, doth play
Upon the dancing banners of the French ;

¹ I'd set an ox-head to your lion's hide,] So, in the old spurious play of King John :

“ But let the frolick Frenchman take no scorn,

“ If Philip front him with an English horn.” STEEVENS.

² You men of Angiers, &c.] This speech is very poetical and smooth, and, except the conceit of the *widow's husband* embracing the earth, is just and beautiful. JOHNSON,

Who are at hand, triumphantly display'd,
To enter conquerors, and to proclaim
Arthur of Bretagne, England's king, and yours.

Enter an English Herald, with trumpets.

E. HER. Rejoice, you men of Angiers, ring your
bells³;
King John, your king and England's, doth approach,
Commander of this hot malicious day!
Their armours, that march'd hence so silver-bright,
Hither return all gilt with Frenchmen's blood⁴;
There stuck no plume in any English crest,
That is removed by a staff of France;
Our colours do return in those same hands
That did display them when we first march'd forth;
And, like a jolly troop of huntsmen⁵, come
Our lusty English, all with purpled hands,
Died in the dying slaughter of their foes:
Open your gates, and give the victors way.

³ Rejoice, you men of Angiers, &c.] The English Herald falls somewhat below his antagonist. *Silver armour gilt with blood* is a poor image. Yet our author has it again in Macbeth:

"—— Here lay Duncan,

"His *silver skin* lac'd with his *golden blood*." JOHNSON.

⁴ — all GILT with Frenchman's BLOOD;] This phrase, which has already been exemplified in Macbeth, vol. xi. p. 109, n. 5, occurs also in Chapman's version of the sixteenth Iliad:

"The cures from great Hector's breast, all *gilded* with his *gore*."

Again, in the same translator's version of the 19th Odyssey:

"And shew'd his point *gilt* with the gushing *gore*."

STEEVENS.

⁵ And, like a jolly troop of huntsmen, &c.] It was, I think, one of the savage practices of the chase, for all to stain their hands in the blood of the deer as a trophy. JOHNSON.

Shakspeare alludes to the same practice in Julius Cæsar:

"—— Here thy *hunters* stand,

"Sign'd in thy spoil, and *crimson'd* in thy *lethe*."

STEEVENS.

CIT. ⁶ Heralds, from off our towers we might behold,
 From first to last, the onset and retire
 Of both your armies ; whose equality
 By our best eyes cannot be censured⁷ :
 Blood hath bought blood, and blows have answer'd
 blows ;
 Strength match'd with strength, and power confronted power :
 Both are alike ; and both alike we like.
 One must prove greatest : while they weigh so even,
 We hold our town for neither ; yet for both.

Enter, at one side, King JOHN, with his power ; ELINOR, BLANCH, and the Bastard ; at the other, King PHILIP, LEWIS, AUSTRIA, and forces.

K. JOHN. France, hast thou yet more blood to cast away ?
 Say, shall the current of our right roam on⁸ ?

⁶ Heralds, from off, &c.] These three speeches seem to have been laboured. The Citizen's is the best ; yet *both alike we like* is a poor gingle. JOHNSON.

⁷ — cannot be CENSURED :] i. e. cannot be *estimated*. See vol. iv. p. 19, n. 7. Our author ought rather to have written—whose *superiority*, or whose *inequality*, cannot be censured.

MALONE.

So, in King Henry VI. Part I. :

“ If you do *censure* me by what you were,

“ Not what you are.” STEEVENS.

⁸ Say, shall the current of our right ROAM on ?] The editor of the second folio substituted *run*, which has been adopted in the subsequent editions. I do not perceive any need of change. In *The Tempest* we have—“ the *wandering* brooks.” MALONE.

I prefer the reading of the second folio. So in King Henry V. :

“ As many streams *run* into one self sea.”

The King would rather describe his right as *running on* in a *direct* than in an *irregular* course, such as would be implied by the word *roam*. STEEVENS.

Whose passage, vex'd with thy impediment,
 Shall leave his native channel, and o'er-swell
 With course disturb'd even thy confining shores ;
 Unless thou let his silver water keep
 A peaceful progress to the ocean.

K. PH. England, thou hast not sav'd one drop of
 blood,

In this hot trial, more than we of France ;
 Rather, lost more : And by this hand I swear,
 That sways the earth this climate overlooks,—
 Before we will lay down our just-borne arms,
 We'll put thee down, 'gainst whom these arms we
 bear,

Or add a royal number to the dead :
 Gracing the scroll, that tells of this war's loss,
 With slaughter coupled to the name of kings.

BAST. Ha, majesty ! how high thy glory towers,
 When the rich blood of kings is set on fire !
 O, now doth death line his dead chaps with steel ;
 The swords of soldiers are his teeth, his fangs ;
 And now he feasts, mousing the flesh of men ⁹,

9 — MOUSING the flesh of men,] *Mousing*, like many ancient and now uncouth expressions, was expelled from our author's text by Mr. Pope ; and *mouthing*, which he substituted in its room, has been adopted in the subsequent editions, without any sufficient reason in my apprehension. *Mousing* is, I suppose, mamocking, and devouring eagerly, as a cat devours a mouse. So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* : "Well moused Lion !" Again, in *The Wonderful Year*, by Thomas Decker, 1603 : "Whilst Troy was swilling sack and sugar, and mousing fat venison, the mad Greekes made bonfires of their houses."

MALONE.

I retain Mr. Pope's emendation, which is supported by the following passage in *Hamlet* : "—first mouthed to be last swallowed." Shakspeare designed no ridicule in this speech ; and therefore did not write, (as when he was writing the burlesque interlude of *Pyramus and Thisbe*,)—*mouseing*. STEEVENS.

Shakspeare is perpetually in the habit of using familiar terms and images in his most serious scenes. To instance only what occurs in this very play :

In undetermin'd differences of kings.—

Why stand these royal fronts amazed thus ?

Cry, havock, kings¹ ! back to the stained field,

You equal potents², fry-kindled spirits !

Then let confusion of one part confirm

The other's peace ; till then, blows, blood, and death !

K. JOHN. Whose party do the townsmen yet admit ?

K. PHI. Speak, citizens, for England ; who's your king ?

1 CIT. The king of England, when we know the king.

K. PHI. Know him in us, that here hold up his right.

K. JOHN. In us, that are our own great deputy,
And bear possession of our person here :

Lord of our presence, Angiers, and of you.

1 CIT. A greater power than we, denies all this ;

And, till it be undoubted, we do lock

Our former scruple in our strong-barr'd gates :

King'd of our fears³ ; until our fears, resolv'd,

“ Now for the *bare-pick'd bone* of majesty,

“ Doth dogged war bristle his angry crest,” &c.

Act IV. Scene last, ad finem.

Again, Act V. Sc. II. :

“ Have I not here the *best cards for the game*.”

Again, Act V. Sc. IV. :

“ *Unthread* the rude eye of rebellion !” MALONE.

¹ Cry, havock, kings !] That is, *command slaughter to proceed*. So, in Julius Cæsar :

“ *Cry, havock*, and let slip the dogs of war.” JOHNSON.

² You equal POTENTS,] *Potents*, for *potentates*. So, in Ane verie excellent and delectabill Treatise intitult Philotus, &c. 1603 : “ Ane of the *potentes of the town*,——.”

³ A greater power than we, denies all this ;—

KING'D of our fears ;] The old copy reads—

“ *Kings of our feare*—” &c. STEEVENS.

“ A greater power than we,” may mean, ‘ the Lord of hosts, who has not yet decided the superiority of either army ; and till it be undoubted the people of Angiers will not open their gates.’

Be by some certain king purg'd and depos'd.

BAST. By heaven, these scroyles of Angiers⁴
flout you, kings ;

Secure and confident as lions, they are not at all afraid, but are *kings*, i. e. masters and commanders, of their fears, until their fears or doubts about the rightful King of England are removed.

TOLLET.

We should read, *than ye*. What power was this ? their *fears*. It is plain, therefore, we should read :

“ *Kings are our fears ;—*”

i. e. our fears are the kings which at present rule us.

WARBURTON.

Dr. Warburton saw what was requisite to make this passage sense ; and Dr. Johnson, rather too hastily, I think, has received his emendation into the text. He reads :

“ *Kings are our fears ;—*”

which he explains to mean, “ our fears are the kings which at present rule us.”

As the same sense may be obtained by a much slighter alteration, I am more inclined to read :

“ *King'd of our fears ;—*”

King'd is used as a participle passive by Shakspeare more than once, I believe. I remember one instance in Henry the Fifth, Act II. Sc. V. The Dauphin says of England :

“ — she is so idly *king'd*.”

It is scarce necessary to add, that *of*, here (as in numberless other places) has the signification of *by*. TYRWHITT.

“ *King'd of our fears ;*” i. e. our fears being our kings, or rulers. *King'd* is again used in King Richard II. :

“ Then I am *king'd* again.”

It is manifest that the passage in the old copy is corrupt, and that it must have been so worded, that their *fears* should be styled their *kings* or masters, and not they, kings or masters of their fears ; because in the next line mention is made of these *fears* being *deposed*. Mr. Tyrwhitt's emendation produces this meaning by a very slight alteration, and is, therefore, I think, entitled to a place in the text.

The following passage in our author's Rape of Lucrece, strongly, in my opinion, confirms his conjecture :

“ So shall these *slaves* [Tarquin's unruly *passions*] be
kings, and thou their slave.”

Again, in King Lear :

“ — It seems, she was a queen

“ Over her *passion*, *who*, most rebel-like,

“ Sought to be *king* o'er her.”

This passage in the folio is given to King Philip, and in a sub-

And stand securely on their battlements,
 As in a theatre, whence they gape and point
 At your industrious scenes⁵ and acts of death.
 Your royal presences be rul'd by me ;
 Do like the mutines of Jerusalem⁶,

sequent part of this scene, all the speeches of the citizens are given to Hubert; which I mention, because these, and innumerable other instances, where the same error has been committed in that edition, justify some licence in transferring speeches from one person to another. MALONE.

⁴ — these SCROYLES of Angiers—] *Escroulles*, Fr. i. e. scabby, scrophulous fellows.

Ben Johnson uses the word in Every Man in his Humour :

“ ——— hang them *scroyles* ! ” STEEVENS.

⁵ At your INDUSTRIOUS scenes—] I once wished to read—*illustrious* ; but now I believe the text to be right. MALONE.

The old reading is undoubtedly the true one. Your *industrious* scenes and acts of death, is the same as if the speaker had said—your laborious *industry* of war. So, in Macbeth :

“ ——— and put we on

“ *Industrious* soldiership. ” STEEVENS.

⁶ Do like the MUTINES of Jerusalem,] The *mutines* are the *mutineers*, the *seditions*. So again, in Hamlet :

“ ——— and lay

“ Worse than the *mutines* in the bilboes. ”

Our author had probably read the following passages in A Compendious and Most Marvellous History of the Latter Times of the Jewes Common-Weale, &c. Written in Hebrew, by Joseph Ben Gorion,—translated into English, by Peter Morwyn, 1575 : “ The same yeere the civil warres grew and increased in Jerusalem ; for the citizens slew one another without any truce, rest, or quietnesse.—The people were divided into *three parties* ; whereof the first and best followed Anani, the high-priest ; another part followed seditious Jehochanan ; the third most cruel Schimeon.—Anani, being a perfect godly man, and seeing the common-weale of Jerusalem governed by the *seditions*, gave over his third part, that stacke to him, to Eliasar, his sonne. Eliasar with his companie took the Temple, and the courts about it ; appointing of his men, some to bee spies, some to keepe watche and warde.—But Jehochanan tooke the market-place and streetes, the lower part of the citie. Then Schimeon, the Jerosolomite, tooke the highest part of the towne, wherefore his men annoyed Jehochanan's parte sore with slings and crosse-bowes. Betwene these three there was also most cruel battailes in Jerusalem for the space of four daies.

“ Titus' campe was about sixe furlongs from the towne. The

Be friends awhile⁷, and both conjointly bend
 Your sharpest deeds of malice on this town :
 By east and west let France and England mount
 Their battering cannon, charged to the mouths ;
 Till their soul-fearing clamours⁸ have brawl'd down
 The flinty ribs of this contemptuous city :
 I'd play incessantly upon these jades,
 Even till unfenced desolation
 Leave them as naked as the vulgar air.
 That done, dissever your united strengths,
 And part your mingled colours once again ;
 Turn face to face, and bloody point to point ;
 Then, in a moment, fortune shall cull forth
 Out of one side her happy minion ;
 To whom in favour she shall give the day,
 And kiss him with a glorious victory.
 How like you this wild counsel, mighty states ?
 Smacks it not something of the policy ?

K. JOHN. Now, by the sky that hangs above our
 heads,

I like it well ;—France, shall we knit our powers,
 And lay this Angiers even with the ground ;
 Then, after, fight who shall be king of it ?

BAST. An if thou hast the mettle of a king,—

next morrow they of the towne seeing Titus to be encamped upon the mount Olivet, the captaines of the *seditions* assembled together, and fell at argument, every man with another, intending to *turne their cruelty upon the Romaines*, confirming and ratifying the same *atonement* and purpose, by swearing one to another ; and so became peace amongst them. Wherefore *joyning together*, that before were *three severall parts*, they set open the gates, and all the best of them issued out with an horrible noyse and shoute, that they made the Romaines afraide withall, in such wise that they fled before the *seditions*, which sodainly did set upon them unawares."

This allusion is not found in the old play. MALONE.

⁷ Be friends a while, &c.] This advice is given by the Bastard in the old copy of the play, though comprized in fewer and less spirited lines. STEEVENS.

⁸ Till their SOUL-FEARING clamours—] i. e. soul-appalling. See vol. v. p. 34, n. 7. MALONE.

Being wrong'd, as we are, by this peevish town,—
 Turn thou the mouth of thy artillery,
 As we will ours, against these saucy walls :
 And when that we have dash'd them to the ground,
 Why, then defy each other ; and, pell-mell,
 Make work upon ourselves, for heaven, or hell.

K. PHI. Let it be so :—Say, where will you assault ?

K. JOHN. We from the west will send destruction
 Into this city's bosom.

AUST. I from the north.

K. PHI. Our thunder from the south,
 Shall rain their drift of bullets on this town.

BAST. O prudent discipline ! From north to south ;
 Austria and France shoot in each other's mouth⁹ :
 [*Aside.*

I'll stir them to it :—Come, away, away !

1 CIT. Hear us, great kings : vouchsafe a while
 to stay,

And I shall show you peace, and fair-faced league ;
 Win you this city without stroke, or wound ;
 Rescue those breathing lives to die in beds,
 That here come sacrifices for the field :
 Perséver not, but hear me, mighty kings.

K. JOHN. Speak on, with favour ; we are bent to hear.

1 CIT. That daughter there of Spain, the lady
 Blanch¹,
 Is near to England ; Look upon the years

⁹ O prudent discipline ! &c.] The poet has made Faulconbridge forget that he had made a similar mistake. See the preceding page :

“ By east and west let France and England mount

“ Their battering cannon—,” TALBOT.

¹ — the lady BLANCH.] The lady *Blanch* was daughter to Alphonso the Ninth, King of Castile, and was niece to King John by his sister Eleanor. STEEVENS.

The sea enraged is not half so deaf,
 Lions more confident, mountains and rocks
 More free from motion ; no, not death himself
 In mortal fury half so peremptory,
 As we to keep this city.

BAST. Here's a stay,
 That shakes the rotten carcase of old death
 Out of his rags ⁵ ! Here's a large mouth, indeed,

⁵ Here's a *stay*,

That shakes the rotten carcase of old death

Out of his rags !] I cannot but think that every reader wishes for some other word in the place of *stay*, which though it may signify an *hindrance*, or *man* that *hinders*, is yet very improper to introduce the next line. I read :

“ Here's a *flaw*,

“ That shakes the rotten carcase of old death.”

That is, here is a *gust* of bravery, a *blast* of menace. This suits well with the spirit of the speech. *Stay* and *flaw*, in a careless hand, are not easily distinguished ; and if the writing was obscure, *flaw* being a word less usual, was easily missed. JOHNSON.

Stay, I apprehend, here signifies a *supporter of a cause*. Here's an extraordinary partizan, that shakes, &c. So, in the last Act of this play :

“ What surety of the world, what hope, what *stay*,

“ When this was now a king, and now is clay ?”

Again, in King Henry VI. Part III. :

“ Now thou art gone, we have no staff, no *stay*.”

Again, in King Richard III. :

“ What *stay* had I, but Edward, and he's gone.”

Again, in Davies's *Scourge of Folly*, printed about the year 1611 :

“ England's fast friend, and Ireland's constant *stay*.”

It is observable, that *partizan*, in like manner, though now generally used to signify an *adherent* to a party, originally meant a pike or halberd.

Perhaps, however, our author meant by the words, “ Here's a *stay*,” “ Here's a fellow, who whilst he makes a proposition as a *stay* or *obstacle*, to prevent the effusion of blood, shakes,” &c. The Citizen has just said :

“ Hear us, great kings, vouchsafe a while to *stay*,

“ And I shall show you peace,” &c.

It is, I conceive, no objection to this interpretation, that an *impediment* or *obstacle* could not shake death, &c. though the *person* who endeavoured to *stay* or prevent the attack of the two kings, might. Shakspeare seldom attends to such *minutiae*. But the first explanation appears to me more probable. MALONE.

That spits forth death, and mountains, rocks, and
 seas;
 Talks as familiarly of roaring lions,
 As maids of thirteen do of puppy-dogs !
 What cannoneer begot this lusty blood ?
 He speaks plain cannon, fire, and smoke, and
 bounce ;

Perhaps the force of the word *stay*, is not exactly known. I meet with it in Damon and Pythias, 1582 :

" Not to prolong my life thereby, for which I reckon not this,

" But to set my things in a *stay*."

Perhaps by a *stay*, the Bastard means "a *steady, resolute fellow*, who shakes," &c. So, in Fenton's Tragical Discourses, bl. l. 4to. 1567 : " — more apt to follow th' inclination of vaine and lascivious desyer, than disposed to make a *staye* of herselfe in the trade of honest vertue."

Again, in Chapman's translation of the 22d Iliad :

" Trie we then—if now their hearts will leave

" Their citie cleare, her cleare *stay* [i. e. Hector] slaine."

A *stay*, however, seems to have been meant for something *active*, in the following passage in the 6th canto of Drayton's Barons' Wars :

" Oh could ambition apprehend a *stay*,

" The giddy course it wandereth in, to *guide*."

Again, in Spenser's Fairy Queen, b. ii. c. x. :

" Till riper yeares he raught, and stronger *stay*."

Shakspeare, therefore, who uses *wrongs* for *wrongers*, &c. &c. might have used a *stay* for a *stayer*. Churchyard, in his Siege of Leeth, 1575, having occasion to speak of a trumpet that sounded to proclaim a truce, says—

" This *staye* of warre made many men to muse."

I am therefore convinced that the first line of Fauleconbridge's speech needs no emendation.

Shakspeare seems to have taken the hint of this speech from the following in The Famous History of Thomas Stukely, 1605, bl. l. :

" Why here's a gallant, here's a king indeed !

" He speaks all Mars :—tut, let me follow such

" A lad as this :—This is pure fire :

" Ev'ry look he casts, flasheth like lightning ;

" There's mettle in this boy.

" He brings a breath that sets our sails on fire :

" Why now I see we shall have cuffs indeed." STEEVENS.

He gives the bastinado with his tongue ;
 Our ears are cudgel'd : not a word of his,
 But buffets better than a fist of France :
 Zounds ! I was never so bethump'd with words,
 Since I first call'd my brother's father, dad.

ELI. Son, list to this conjunction, make this
 match ;
 Give with our niece a dowry large enough :
 For by this knot thou shalt so surely tie
 Thy now unsur'd assurance to the crown,
 That yon green boy shall have no sun to ripe
 The bloom that promiseth a mighty fruit.
 I see a yielding in the looks of France ;
 Mark, how they whisper : urge them while their
 souls
 Are capable of this ambition :
 Lest zeal, now melted, by the windy breath
 Of soft petitions, pity, and remorse,
 Cool and congeal again to what it was ⁶.

⁶ Lest ZEAL, now melted, &c.] We have here a very unusual, and, I think, not very just image of *zeal*, which, in its highest degree, is represented by others as a flame, but by Shakspeare, as a frost. To *repress zeal*, in the language of others, is to *cool* ; in Shakspeare's to *melt* it : when it exerts its utmost power it is commonly said to *flame*, but by Shakspeare to be *congealed*.

JOHNSON.

Sure the poet means to compare *zeal* to *metal* in a state of fusion, and not to dissolving ice. STEEVENS.

The allusion, I apprehend, is to dissolving ice ; and if this passage be compared with others in our author's plays, it will not, I think, appear liable to Dr. Johnson's objection.—The sense, I conceive, is, “ Lest the now *zealous* and to you well-affected heart of Philip, which but lately was cold and hard as ice, and has *newly* been *melted and softened*, should by the breath of supplications of Constance, and pity for Arthur, again *become congealed* and frozen.” I once thought that “ the windy breath of soft petitions,” &c. should be coupled with the preceding words, and related to the proposal made by the citizen of Angiers ; but now I believe that they were intended to be connected, in construction, with the following line.—In a subsequent scene we find a similar thought couched in nearly the same expressions :

I *CIT.* Why answer not the double majesties
This friendly treaty of our threaten'd town ?

K. *PHI.* Speak England first, that hath been forward first

To speak unto this city : What say you ?

K. *JOHN.* If that the Dauphin there, thy princely son,

Can in this book of beauty read ⁷, I love,
Her dowry shall weigh equal with a queen :

" This act, so evilly born, shall *cool the hearts*

" Of all his people, and *freeze up their zeal.*"

Here Shakspeare does not say that *zeal*, when "*congealed*, exerts its utmost power," but on the contrary, that when it is congealed or frozen, it *ceases* to exert itself at all ; it is no longer zeal.

We again meet with the same allusion in King Henry VIII. :

" — This makes bold mouths ;

" Tongues spit their duties out, and *cold hearts freeze*

" *Alliance* in them."

Both zeal and allegiance therefore, we see, in the language of Shakspeare, are in their highest state of exertion, when *melted* ; and repressed or diminished, when *frozen*. The word *freeze*, in the passages just quoted, shows that the allusion is not, as has been suggested, to *metals*, but to *ice*.

The obscurity of the present passage arises from our author's use of the word *zeal*, which is, as it were, personified. *Zeal*, if it be understood strictly, cannot "*cool and congeal again to what it was,*" (for when it cools, it ceases to be *zeal*,) though a *person* who is become warm and zealous in a cause, may afterwards become cool and indifferent, *as he was*, before he was warmed.—"To what it was," however, in our author's licentious language, may mean, "*to what it was, before it was zeal.*" MALONE.

The *windy breath* that will *cool metals in a state of fusion*, produces not the effects of *frost*. I am, therefore, yet to learn, how "*the soft petitions* of Constance, and *pity* for Arthur," (two gentle agents) were competent to the act of *freezing*.—There is surely somewhat of impropriety in employing Favonius to do the work of Boreas. STEEVENS.

⁷ Can in this book of beauty read,] So, in Pericles, 1609 :

" Her *face*, the book of *praises*," &c.

Again, in Macbeth :

" Your *face*, my thane, is as a *book*, where men

" May *read* strange matters." MALONE.

For Anjou⁸, and fair Touraine, Maine, Poitiers,
 And all that we upon this side the sea
 (Except this city now by us besieg'd,)
 Find liable to our crown and dignity,
 Shall gild her bridal bed ; and make her rich
 In titles, honours, and promotions,
 As she in beauty, education, blood,
 Holds hand with any princess of the world.

K. PHI. What say'st thou, boy ? look in the
 lady's face.

LEIF. I do, my lord, and in her eye I find
 A wonder, or a wondrous miracle,
 The shadow of myself form'd in her eye ;
 Which, being but the shadow of your son,
 Becomes a sun, and makes your son a shadow :
 I do protest, I never lov'd myself,
 Till now infixed I beheld myself,
 Drawn in the flattering table of her eye⁹.

[*Whispers with BLANCH.*

⁸ For ANJOU,] In old editions :

“ For *Angiers*, and fair Touraine, Maine, Poitiers,

“ And all that we upon this side the sea,

“ (*Except this city* now by us besieg'd,)

“ *Find liable*,” &c.

What was the city *besieged* but Angiers? King John agrees to give up all he held in France, except the city of Angiers, which he now besieged and laid claim to. But could he give up all except Angiers, and give up *that* too? *Anjou* was one of the provinces which the English held in France. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald's emendation is confirmed both by the context and by the anonymous King John, printed in 1591. See the next page. See also p. 231, n. 5. MALONE.

⁹ DRAWN in the flattering TABLE of her eye.] So, in All's Well That Ends Well :

“ ——— to sit and *draw*

“ His arched brows, his hawking eye, his curls,

“ In our heart's *table*.”

Table is *picture*, or, rather, the board or canvas on which any object is painted. *Tableau*, Fr. STEEVENS.

BAST. Drawn in the flattering table of her eye!—
 Hang'd in the frowning wrinkle of her brow!—
 And quarter'd in her heart!—he doth espy
 Himself love's traitor: This is pity now,
 That hang'd, and drawn, and quarter'd, there
 should be,
 In such a love, so vile a lout as he.

BLANCH. My uncle's will, in this respect, is
 mine:
 If he see aught in you, that makes him like,
 That any thing he sees, which moves his liking,
 I can with ease translate it to my will;
 Or, if you will, (to speak more properly,)
 I will enforce it easily to my love.
 Further I will not flatter you, my lord,
 That all I see in you is worthy love,
 Than this,—that nothing do I see in you,
 (Though churlish thoughts themselves should be
 your judge,)
 That I can find should merit any hate.

K. JOHN. What say these young ones? What say
 you, my niece?

BLANCH. That she is bound in honour still to do
 What you in wisdom shall vouchsafe to say.

K. JOHN. Speak then, prince Dauphin; can you
 love this lady?

LEW. Nay, ask me if I can refrain from love;
 For I do love her most unfeignedly.

K. JOHN. Then do I give Volquessen¹, Touraine,
 Maine,
 Poitiers, and Anjou, these five provinces,
 With her to thee; and this addition more,

¹ — Volquessen,] This is the ancient name for the country
 now called the *Vexin*; in Latin, *Pagus Velocassinus*. That part
 of it called the *Norman Vexin*, was in dispute between Philip and
 John. STEEVENS.

This and the subsequent line (except the words, "do I give,")
 are taken from the old play. MALONE.

Full thirty thousand marks of English coin.—
Philip of France, if thou be pleas'd withal,
Command thy son and daughter to join hands.

K. PHI. It likes us well;—Young princes, close
your hands².

AUST. And your lips too; for, I am well assur'd,
That I did so, when I was first assur'd³.

K. PHI. Now, citizens of Angiers, ope your gates,
Let in that amity which you have made;
For at saint Mary's chapel, presently,
The rites of marriage shall be solemniz'd.—
Is not the lady Constance in this troop?—
I know, she is not; for this match, made up,
Her presence would have interrupted much:
Where is she and her son? tell me, who knows.

LEIR. She is sad and passionate at your highness'
tent⁴.

K. PHI. And, by my faith, this league, that we
have made,
Will give her sadness very little cure.—
Brother of England, how may we content
This widow lady? In her right we came;

² — Young princes, close your hands.] See *The Winter's Tale*, vol. xiv. p. 246, n. 8. MALONE.

³ — I am well ASSUR'D,

That I did so, when I was first ASSUR'D.] *Assur'd* is here used both in its common sense, and in an uncommon one, where it signifies *affianced, contracted*. So, in *The Comedy of Errors*:

“ — called me Dromio, swore I was *assur'd* to her.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ She is sad and PASSIONATE at your highness' tent.] *Passionate*, in this instance, does not signify *disposed to anger*, but *a prey to mournful sensations*. So, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without Money*:

“ — Thou art *passionate*,

“ Hast been brought up with girls.” STEEVENS.

Again, in the old play entitled *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, 1600:

“ Tell me, good madam,

“ Why is your grace so *passionate* of late?” MALONE.

Which we, God knows, have turn'd another way,
To our own vantage.

K. JOHN. We will heal up all;
For we'll create young Arthur duke of Bretagne,
And earl of Richmond; and this rich fair town
We make him lord of.—Call the lady Constance;
Some speedy messenger bid her repair
To our solemnity:—I trust we shall,
If not fill up the measure of her will,
Yet in some measure satisfy her so,
That we shall stop her exclamation.
Go we, as well as haste will suffer us,
To this unlook'd for unprepared pomp.

[*Excunt all but the Bastard.—The Citizens retire from the walls.*]

BAST. Mad world! mad kings! mad composition!
John, to stop Arthur's title in the whole,
Hath willingly departed with a part⁵:
And France, (whose armour conscience buckled on;
Whom zeal and charity brought to the field,
As God's own soldier,) rounded in the ear⁶

⁵ — DEPARTED with a part:] *To part* and *to depart* were formerly synonymous. So, in *Every Man in his Humour*: "Faith, sir, I can hardly *depart* with ready money." Again, in *Every Woman in her Humour*, 1609: "She'll serve under him till death us *depart*." STEEVENS.

So, in *Love's Labour Lost*, vol. iv. p. 314:

"Which we much rather had *depart* withal." MALONE.

⁶ — ROUNDED in the ear—] i. e. whispered in the ear. This phrase is frequently used by Chaucer, as well as later writers. So, in *Lingua*, or *A Combat of the Tongue*, &c. 1607: "I help'd Herodotus to pen some part of his Muses, lent Pliny ink to write his history, and rounded Rabelais in the ear when he historified Pantagruel." Again, in *The Spanish Tragedy*:

"Forthwith Revenge she rounded me i' th' ear." STEEVENS.

So, in *The Winter's Tale*, vol. xiv. p. 257, n. 6.

"They're here with me already: whispering, rounding,
"Sicilia is a so-forth."

See an explanation of the word and its etymology in a letter from Sir Henry Spelman. *Wormii Literatura Runica Hafniæ*, 1651, p. 4. BOSWELL.

With that same purpose-changer, that sly devil ;
 That broker, that still breaks the pate of faith ;
 That daily break-vow ; he that wins of all,
 Of kings, of beggars, old men, young men, maids,—
 Who having no external thing to lose
 But the word maid,—cheats the poor maid of that⁷ ;
 That smooth-faced gentleman, tickling commodity,—

Commodity, the bias of the world⁸ ;
 The world, who of itself is peised well,
 Made to run even, upon even ground ;
 Till this advantage, this vile drawing bias,
 This sway of motion, this commodity,

⁷ Who having no external thing to lose

But the word maid,—cheats the poor maid of that ;] The construction here appears extremely harsh to our ears, yet I do not believe there is any corruption ; for I have observed a similar phraseology in other places in these plays. The construction is—Commodity, he that wins of all,—*he that* cheats the poor maid of that only external thing she has to lose, namely, the word maid, i. e. her chastity. *Who having* is used as the absolute case, in the sense of “*they having—* ;” and the words “*who having no external thing to lose but the word maid,*” are in some measure parenthetical ; yet they cannot with propriety be included in a parenthesis, because then there would remain nothing to which the relative *that* at the end of the line could be referred. In *The Winter's Tale* are the following lines, in which we find a similar phraseology :

“ ——— This your son-in-law,

“ And son unto the king, (*whom* heavens directing,)

“ Is troth-plight to your daughter.”

Here the pronoun *whom* is used for *him*, as *who*, in the passage before us, is used for *they*. MALONE.

⁸ COMMODITY, the BIAS of the world ;] *Commodity* is *interest*. So, in *Damon and Pythias*, 1582 :

“ ——— for vertue's sake only,

“ They would honour friendship, and not for *commoditie*.”

Again,

“ I will use his friendship to mine own *commoditie*.”

STEEVENS.

So, in *Cupid's Whirligig*, 1607 :

“ O the world is like a *byas* bowle, and it runs all on the rich men's sides.” HENDERSON.

Makes it take head from all indifferency,
 From all direction, purpose, course, intent :
 And this same bias, this commodity,
 This bawd, this broker⁹, this all-changing word,
 Clapp'd on the outward eye of fickle France,
 Hath drawn him from his own determin'd aid¹,
 From a resolv'd and honourable war,
 To a most base and vile-concluded peace.—
 And why rail I on this commodity ?
 But for because he hath not woo'd me yet :
 Not that I have the power to clutch my hand²,
 When his fair angels would salute my palm :
 But for my hand³, as unattempted yet,
 Like a poor beggar, raileth on the rich.
 Well, whiles I am a beggar, I will rail,
 And say,—there is no sin, but to be rich ;
 And being rich, my virtue then shall be,
 To say,—there is no vice, but beggary :
 Since kings break faith upon commodity,
 Gain, be my lord ! for I will worship thee ! [*Exit*⁴.

⁹ — this BROKER,] A *broker* in old language meant a *pimp* or *procuress*. See a note on *Hamlet*, vol. vii. p. 224 :

“ Do not believe his vows, for they are *brokers*,” &c.

MALONE.

¹ — from his own determined AID,] The word *eye*, in the line preceding, and the word *own*, which can ill agree with *aid*, induces me to think that we ought to read—“his own determined *aim*,” instead of *aid*. His *own aid* is little better than nonsense.

M. MASON.

² — CLUTCH my hand,] To *clutch* my hand, is to clasp close. So, in *Measure for Measure* : “putting the hand into the pocket, and extracting it *clutched*.” Again, in *Antonio's Revenge*, 1602 :

“ The fist of strenuous vengeance is *clutch'd*.”

³ But FOR, &c.] i. e. because. So, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* :

“ I curse myself, *for* they are sent by me.” REED.

Again, in *Othello* :

“ — or *for* I am declin'd

“ Into the vale of years.” MALONE.

⁴ In the old copy the second Act extends to the end of the

ACT III. SCENE I.

The Same. The French King's Tent.

Enter CONSTANCE, ARTHUR, and SALISBURY.

CONST. Gone to be married! gone to swear a peace!

False blood to false blood join'd! Gone to be friends!

Shall Lewis have Blanch? and Blanch those provinces?

It is not so; thou hast misspoke, misheard;
Be well advis'd, tell o'er thy tale again:
It cannot be; thou dost but say, 'tis so:
I trust, I may not trust thee; for thy word
Is but the vain breath of a common man:
Believe me, I do not believe thee, man;
I have a king's oath to the contrary.
Thou shalt be punish'd for thus frightening me,
For I am sick, and capable of fears⁵;
Oppress'd with wrongs, and therefore full of fears;
A widow⁶, husbandless, subject to fears;
A woman, naturally born to fears;
And though thou now confess, thou didst but jest,

speech of Lady Constance, in the next scene, at the conclusion of which she throws herself on the ground. The present division, which was made by Mr. Theobald, and has been adopted by the subsequent editors, is certainly right. MALONE.

See Mr. Theobald's note, p. 265. STEEVENS.

⁵ For I am sick, and *capable* of fears;] i. e. I have a strong *sensibility*; I am tremblingly alive to apprehension. So, in Hamlet:

“His form and cause conjoin'd, preaching to stones,

“Would make them *capable*.” MALONE.

⁶ A widow,] This was not the fact. Constance was at this time married to a third husband, Guido, brother to the Viscount of Touars. She had been divorced from her second husband, Ranulph, Earl of Chester. MALONE.

With my vex'd spirits I cannot take a truce,
 But they will quake and tremble all this day.
 What dost thou mean by shaking of thy head?
 Why dost thou look so sadly on my son?
 What means that hand upon that breast of thine?
 Why holds thine eye that lamentable rheum,
 Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds⁷?
 Be these sad signs⁸ confirmers of thy words?
 Then speak again; not all thy former tale,
 But this one word, whether thy tale be true.

SAL. As true, as, I believe, you think them false,
 That give you cause to prove my saying true.

CONST. O, if thou teach me to believe this sorrow,

Teach thou this sorrow how to make me die;
 And let belief and life encounter so,
 As doth the fury of two desperate men,
 Which, in the very meeting, fall, and die.—
 Lewis marry Blanch! O, boy, then where art thou?
 France friend with England! what becomes of
 me?—

Fellow, be gone; I cannot brook thy sight;
 This news hath made thee a most ugly man.

SAL. What other harm have I, good lady, done,
 But spoke the harm that is by others done?

CONST. Which harm within itself so heinous is,
 As it makes harmful all that speak of it.

⁷ Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds?] This seems to have been imitated by Marston, in his *Insatiate Countess*, 1603:

"Then how much more in me, whose youthful veins,
 "Like a proud river, o'erflow their bounds——"

MALONE.

⁸ Be these SAD SIGNS—] The *sad signs* are, the *shaking of his head*, the *laying his hand on his breast*, &c. We have again the same words in our author's *Venus and Adonis*:

"So she, at these *sad signs* exclaims on death."

Mr. Pope and the subsequent editors read—Be these *sad sighs*—&c. MALONE.

ARTH. I do beseech, you, madam, be content.

CONST. If thou⁹, that bid'st me be content, wert grim,

Ugly, and sland'rous to thy mother's womb,
Full of unpleasing blots¹, and sightless² stains,
Lame, foolish, crooked, swart³, prodigious⁴,
Patch'd with foul moles, and eye-offending marks,
I would not care, I then would be content ;
For then I should not love thee ; no, nor thou
Become thy great birth, nor deserve a crown.

⁹ If thou, &c.] Massinger appears to have copied this passage in *The Unnatural Combat* :

“ — If thou hadst been born

“ Deform'd and crooked in the features of

“ Thy body, as the manners of thy mind ;

“ Moor-lip'd, flat-nos'd, &c. &c.

“ I had been blest.” STEEVENS.

¹ Ugly, and sland'rous to thy MOTHER'S WOMB,

Full of unpleasing BLOTS,] So, in our author's *Rape of Lucrece*, 1594 :

“ The blemish that will never be forgot,

“ Worse than a slavish wipe, or *birth-hour's blot*.”

MALONE,

² sightless —] The poet uses *sightless* for that which we now express by *unsightly*, disagreeable to the eyes. JOHNSON.

³ — swart,] *Swart* is brown, inclining to black. So, in *King Henry VI. Part I. Act I. Sc. II.* :

“ And whereas I was black and *swart* before.”

Again, in *The Comedy of Errors*, vol. iv. p. 209 :

“ *Swart* like my shoe, but her face nothing so clean kept.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ — prodigious,] That is, *portentous*, so deformed as to be taken for a *foretoken of evil*. JOHNSON.

In this sense it is used by Decker, in the first part of *The Honest Whore*, 1604 :

“ — yon comet shews his head again ;

“ Twice hath he thus at cross-turns thrown on us

“ *Prodigious* looks.”

Again, in *The Revenger's Tragedy*, 1607 :

“ Over whose roof hangs this *prodigious* comet.”

Again, in *The English Arcadia*, by Jarvis Markham, 1607 :
“ O, yes, I was *prodigious* to thy birth right, and as a blazing star at thine unlook'd for funeral.” STEEVENS.

But thou art fair ; and at thy birth, dear boy !
 Nature and fortune join'd to make thee great :
 Of nature's gifts thou may'st with lilies boast,
 And with the half-blown rose : but fortune, O !
 She is corrupted, chang'd, and won from thee ;
 She adulterates hourly with thine uncle John ;
 And with her golden hand hath pluck'd on France
 To tread down fair respect of sovereignty,
 And made his majesty the bawd to theirs.
 France is a bawd to fortune, and king John ;
 That strumpet fortune, that usurping John :—
 Tell me, thou fellow, is not France forsworn ?
 Envenom him with words ; or get thee gone,
 And leave those woes alone, which I alone,
 Am bound to under-bear.

SAL. Pardon me, madam,
 I may not go without you to the kings.

CONST. Thou may'st, thou shalt, I will not go
 with thee :

I will instruct my sorrows to be proud ;
 For grief is proud, and makes its owner stoop⁵.

⁵ — makes HIS owner STOUT.] The old editions have—" makes
 its owner stoop." The emendation is Sir T. Hanmer's.

JOHNSON.

So, in Daniel's Civil Wars, b. vi. :

" Full with *stout grief* and with disdainful woe."

STEEVENS.

Our author has rendered this passage obscure, by indulging himself in one of those conceits in which he too much delights, and by bounding rapidly, with his usual licence, from one idea to another. This obscurity induced Sir T. Hanmer, for *stoop*, to substitute *stout* ; a reading that has been too hastily adopted in the subsequent editions.

The confusion arises from the poet's having personified grief in the first part of the passage, and supposing the afflicted person to be *bowed* to the earth by that pride or haughtiness which Grief, which he personifies, is said to possess ; and by making the afflicted person, in the latter part of the passage, actuated by this very pride, and exacting the same kind of obeisance from others, that Grief has exacted from her.—" I will not go (says

To me, and to the state of my great grief,
 Let kings assemble⁶; for my grief's so great,
 That no supporter but the huge firm earth
 Can hold it up: here I and sorrows sit⁷;

Constance) to these kings; I will teach my sorrows to be proud: for Grief is proud, and makes the afflicted *stoop*; therefore here I throw myself, and let them come to me." Here, had she stopped, and thrown herself on the ground, and had nothing more been added, however we might have disapproved of the conceit, we should have had no temptation to disturb the text. But the idea of throwing herself on the ground suggests a new image; and because her *stately* grief is so great that nothing but the huge earth can support it, she considers the ground as her *throne*; and having thus invested herself with regal dignity, she, as queen in *misery*, as possessing (like Imogen) "the supreme crown of grief," calls on the princes of the world to bow down before her, as she has herself been *bowed down* by affliction.

Such, I think, was the process that passed in the poet's mind; which appears to me so clearly to explain the text, that I see no reason for departing from it. MALONE.

I am really surprised that Mr. Malone should endeavour, by one elaborate argument, to support the old debasing reading. A pride which makes the owners stoop is a kind of pride I have never heard of; and though grief, in a weaker degree, and working in weaker minds, may depress the spirits, despair, such as the haughty Constance felt at this time, must naturally rouse them. This distinction is accurately pointed out by Johnson, in his observations on this passage. M. MASON.

⁶ To me, and to the state of my great grief,

Let kings assemble;] In *Much Ado About Nothing*, the father of Hero, depressed by her disgrace, declares himself so subdued by grief, that a *thread may lead him*. How is it that grief, in *Leonato* and *Lady Constance*, produces effects directly opposite, and yet both agreeable to nature? Sorrow softens the mind while it is yet warmed by hope, but hardens it when it is congealed by despair. Distress, while there remains any prospect of relief, is weak and flexible, but when no succour remains, is fearless and stubborn: angry alike at those that injure, and at those that do not help; careless to please where nothing can be gained, and fearless to offend when there is nothing further to be dreaded. Such was this writer's knowledge of the passions.

JOHNSON.

⁷ — here I and sorrows sit;] Thus the old copy. Perhaps we should read—"Here I and sorrow sit." Our author might

Here is my throne, bid kings come bow to it^s.

[*She throws herself on the ground.*]

have intended to personify sorrow, as Marlowe had done before him, in his King Edward II. :

“ While I am lodg’d within this cave of care,

“ Where *Sorrow* at my elbow still attends.”

The transcriber’s ear might easily have deceived him, the two readings, when spoken, sounding exactly alike. So, we find, in the quarto copy of King Henry IV. Part I. :

“ The mailed Mars shall on his *altars* sit—.”

instead of—shall on his *altar* sit. Again, in the quarto copy of the same play we have—monstrous *scantle*, instead of—monstrous *cantle*.

In this conjecture I had once great confidence; but, a preceding line—

“ I will instruct my *sorrows* to be proud,”

now appears to me to render it somewhat disputable.

Perhaps our author here remembered the description of Elizabeth, the widow of King Edward IV. given in an old book, that, I believe, he had read—“ The Queen *sat* alone *below on the rushes*, al desolate and dismaide; whom the Archbishop comforted in the best manner that he coude.” Continuation of Harding’s Chronicle, 1543. So also, in a book already quoted, that Shakspeare appears to have read, A compendious and most marvelous History of the latter Times of the Jewes Commonweale : “ All those things when I Joseph heard tydings of, I tare my head with my hand, and cast ashes upon my beard, *sitting in great sorrow upon the ground.*” MALONE.

^s —bid kings come bow to it.] I must here account for the liberty I have taken to make a change in the division of the second and third Acts. In the old editions, the second Act was made to end here; though it is evident Lady Constance here, in her despair, seats herself on the floor: and she must be supposed, as I formerly observed, immediately to rise again, only to go off and end the Act decently; or the *flat scene* must shut her in from the sight of the audience, an absurdity I cannot wish to accuse Shakspeare of. Mr. Gildon, and some other criticks, fancied, that a considerable part of the second Act was lost, and that the chasm began here. I had joined in this suspicion of a scene or two being lost, and unwittingly drew Mr. Pope into this error. “ It seems to be so, (says he,) and it were to be wish’d the *restorer* (meaning *me*) could supply it.” To deserve this great man’s thanks, I will venture at the task; and hope to convince my readers that nothing is lost; but that I have supplied the suspected chasm, only by rectifying the division of the Acts. Upon looking a little more narrowly into the constitution of the play, I am satisfied that the third Act ought to begin with that

Enter King JOHN, King PHILIP, LEWIS, BLANCH, ELINOR, Bastard, AUSTRIA, and Attendants.

K. PHI. 'Tis true, fair daughter ; and this blessed day,
Ever in France shall be kept festival :
To solemnize this day⁹, the glorious sun

scene which has hitherto been accounted the last of the second Act : and my reasons for it are these. The match being concluded, in the scene before that, betwixt the Dauphin and Blanch, a messenger is sent for Lady Constance to King Philip's tent, for her to come to Saint Mary's church to the solemnity. The princes all go out, as to the marriage ; and the Bastard staying a little behind, to descant on interest and commodity, very properly ends the Act. The next scene then, in the French king's tent, brings us Salisbury delivering his message to Constance, who, refusing to go to the solemnity, sets herself down on the floor. The whole train returning from the church to the French king's pavilion, Philip expresses such satisfaction on occasion of the happy solemnity of that day, that Constance rises from the floor, and joins in the scene by entering her protest against their joy, and cursing the business of the day. Thus, I conceive, the scenes are fairly continued, and there is no chasm in the action, but a proper interval made both for Salisbury's coming to Lady Constance, and for the solemnization of the marriage. Besides, as Faulconbridge is evidently the poet's favourite character, it was very well judged to close the Act with his soliloquy. THEOBALD.

This whole note seems judicious enough ; but Mr. Theobald forgets there were, in Shakspeare's time, no moveable scenes in common playhouses. JOHNSON.

It appears, from many passages, that the ancient theatres had the advantages of machinery as well as the more modern stages. See a note on the fourth scene of the fifth Act of Cymbeline.

How happened it that Shakspeare himself should have mentioned the act of *shifting scenes*, if in his time there were no scenes capable of being *shifted* ! Thus, in the chorus to King Henry V. :

“ Unto Southampton do we *shift our scene*.”

This phrase was hardly more ancient than the custom which it describes. STEEVENS.

See this question fully discussed in *The History of the Stage*, vol. iii. BOSWELL.

⁹ To solemnize this day, &c.] From this passage Rowe seems to have borrowed the first lines of his *Fair Penitent*. JOHNSON.

Stays in his course, and plays the alchymist¹;
 Turning, with splendor of his precious eye,
 The meagre cloddy earth to glittering gold:
 The yearly course, that brings this day about,
 Shall never see it but a holyday².

CONST. A wicked day³, and not a holyday!—

[*Rising.*

What hath this day deserv'd? what hath it done;
 That it in golden letters should be set,

The first lines of Rowe's tragedy—

"Let this auspicious day be ever sacred," &c.
 are apparently taken from Dryden's version of the second Satire of Persius:

"Let this auspicious morning be express," &c.

STEEVENS.

¹ — and plays the ALCHEMIST;] Milton has borrowed this thought:

"— when with one virtuous touch

"Th' arch-chemic sun," &c. *Paradise Lost*, b. iii.

STEEVENS.

So, in our author's 33d Sonnet:

"Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchymy."

MALONE.

² Shall never see it but a holyday.] So, in The Famous Historie of George Lord Fauconbridge, 1616: "This joyful day of their arrival [that of Richard I. and his mistress, Clarabel,] was by the king and his counsell canonized for a holy-day." MALONE.

³ A wicked day, &c.] There is a passage in The Honest Whore, by Decker, 1604, so much resembling the present, that I cannot forbear quoting it:

"Curst be that day for ever, that robb'd her

"Of breath, and me of bliss! henceforth let it stand

"Within the wizzard's book (the kalendar)

"Mark'd with a marginal finger, to be chosen

"By thieves, by villains, and black murderers,

"As the best day for them to labour in.

"If henceforth this adulterous bawdy world

"Be got with child with treason, sacrilege,

"Atheism, rapes, treacherous friendship, perjury,

"Slander, (the beggars sin,) lies, (the sin of fools,)

"Or any other damn'd impieties,

"On Monday let them be delivered," &c. HENDERSON,

Among the high tides ⁴, in the kalendar ?
 Nay, rather, turn this day out of the week ⁵ ;
 This day of shame, oppression, perjury :
 Or, if it must stand still, let wives with child
 Pray, that their burdens may not fall this day,
 Lest that their hopes prodigiously be cross'd ⁶ :
 But on this day ⁷, let seamen fear no wreck ;
 No bargains break, that are not this day made :
 This day, all things begun come to ill end ;
 Yea, faith itself to hollow falsehood change !

K. PHIL. By heaven, lady, you shall have no
 cause

⁴ — high tides,] i. e. solemn seasons, times to be observed
 above others. STEEVENS.

⁵ Nay, rather, turn this day out of the week ;] In allusion (as
 Mr. Upton has observed) to Job, iii. 3 : " Let the day perish," &c.
 and v. 6 : " Let it not be joined to the days of the year, let it not
 come into the number of the months." MALONE.

In *The Fair Penitent*, the imprecation of Calista on the night
 that betrayed her to Lothario, is chiefly borrowed from this and
 subsequent verses in the same chapter of Job. STEEVENS.

⁶ — PRODIGIOUSLY be cross'd :] i. e. be disappointed by the
 production of a prodigy, a monster. So, in *A Midsummer Night's*
Dream :

" Nor mark *prodigious*, such as are

" Despised in nativity." STEEVENS.

⁷ But on this day, &c.] That is, *except* on this day.

JOHNSON.

In the ancient almanacks, (several of which I have in my pos-
 session,) the days supposed to be favourable or unfavourable to
 bargains, are distinguished among a number of other particulars of
 the like importance. This circumstance is alluded to in Webster's
Duchess of Malfy, 1623 :

" By the almanack, I think

" To choose good days and shun the critical."

Again, in *The Elder Brother* of Beaumont and Fletcher :

" —an almanack

" Which thou art daily poring in, to pick out

" Days of iniquity to cozen fools in." STEEVENS.

So, in *Macbeth* :

" ——— Let this pernicious hour

" Stand, aye, accursed in the calendar." MALONE.

To curse the fair proceedings of this day :
Have I not pawn'd to you my majesty ?

CONST. You have beguil'd me with a counterfeit,
Resembling majesty⁸ ; which, being touch'd, and
tried⁹,

Proves valueless : You are forsworn, forsworn ;
You came in arms to spill mine enemies' blood,
But now in arms you strengthen it with yours¹ :
The grappling vigour and rough frown of war,
Is cold in amity and painted peace,
And our oppression hath made up this league :—
Arm, arm, you heavens, against these perjur'd
kings !

A widow cries ; be husband to me, heavens !
Let not the hours of this ungodly day
Wear out the day² in peace ; but, ere sunset,
Set armed discord³ 'twixt these perjur'd kings !
Hear me, O, hear me !

AUST. Lady Constance, peace.

CONST. War ! war ! no peace ! peace is to me a
war.

O Lymoges ! O Austria⁴ ! thou dost shame

⁸ You have beguil'd me with a COUNTERFEIT,

Resembling majesty ;] i. e. a false coin. A *counterfeit* formerly signified also a *portrait*.—A representation of the king being usually impressed on his coin, the word seems to be here used equivocally. MALONE.

⁹ Resembling majesty ; which, being TOUCH'D, AND TRIED,] Being *touch'd*—signifies, having the *touchstone* applied to it. The two last words—and *tried*, which create a redundancy of measure, should, as Mr. Ritson observes, be omitted. STEEVENS.

¹ You came in ARMS to spill mine enemies' blood,

But now in ARMS you strengthen it with yours :] I am afraid here is a clinch intended. "You came *in war* to destroy my enemies, but now you strengthen them *in embraces*."

JOHNSON.

² Wear out the DAY —] Old copy—*days*. Corrected by Mr. Theobald. MALONE.

³ Set armed discord, &c.] Shakspeare makes this bitter curse effectual. JOHNSON.

⁴ O LYMOGES ! O AUSTRIA !] The propriety or impropriety

That bloody spoil : Thou slave, thou wretch, thou
coward ;

Thou little valiant, great in villainy !

Thou ever strong upon the stronger side !

Thou fortune's champion, that dost never fight

But when her humorous ladyship is by

To teach thee safety ! thou art perjur'd too,

And sooth'st up greatness. What a fool art
thou,

A ramping fool ; to brag, and stamp, and swear,

Upon my party ! Thou cold-blooded slave,

Hast thou not spoke like thunder on my side ?

Been sworn my soldier ? bidding me depend

Upon thy stars, thy fortune, and thy strength ?

And dost thou now fall over to my foes ?

Thou wear a lion's hide ! doff it for shame ⁵,

of these titles, which every editor has suffered to pass unnoted, deserves a little consideration. Shakspeare has, on this occasion, followed the old play, which at once furnished him with the character of Faulconbridge, and ascribed the death of Richard I. to the duke of Austria. In the person of Austria he has conjoined the two well-known enemies of Cœur-de-lion. Leopold, duke of Austria, threw him into prison, in a former expedition [in 1193] ; but the castle of Chaluz, before which he fell [in 1199] belonged to Vidomar, viscount of Limoges ; and the archer who pierced his shoulder with an arrow (of which wound he died) was Bertrand de Gourdon. The editors seem hitherto to have understood Lymoges as being an appendage to the title of Austria, and therefore enquired no further about it.

Holinshed says on this occasion : " The same yere, Philip, bastard sonne to King Richard, to whom his father had given the castell and honor of Coinacke, killed the viscount of Limoges, in revenge of his father's death," &c. Austria, in the old play, [printed in 1591] is called Lymoges, the Austrich duke.

With this note I was favoured by a gentleman to whom I have yet more considerable obligations in regard to Shakspeare. His extensive knowledge of history and manners has frequently supplied me with apt and necessary illustrations, at the same time that his judgment has corrected my errors ; yet such has been his constant solicitude to remain concealed, that I know not but I may give offence while I indulge my own vanity in affixing to this note the name of my friend, Henry Blake, Esq. STEEVENS.

And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs ⁶.

AUST. O, that a man should speak those words to me!

BAST. And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs.

AUST. Thou dar'st not say so, villain, for thy life.

⁵ — DOFF it for shame,] To *doff* is to *do off*, to *put off*. So, in *Fuimus Troes*, 1633 :

"Sorrow must *doff* her sable weeds." STEEVENS.

⁶ And hang a CALF'S-SKIN on those recreant limbs.] When fools were kept for diversion in great families, they were distinguished by a *calf's-skin coat*, which had the buttons down the back ; and this they wore that they might be known for fools, and escape the resentment of those whom they provoked with their waggeries.

In a little penny book, intitled *The Birth, Life, and Death, of John Franks, with the Pranks he Played though a meer Fool*, mention is made in several places of a *calf's-skin*. In chap. x. of this book, Jack is said to have made his appearance at his lord's table, having then a new *calf-skin*, red and white spotted. This fact will explain the sarcasm of Constance, and Faulconbridge, who mean to call Austria a *fool*. SIR J. HAWKINS.

I may add, that the custom is still preserved in Ireland ; and the fool, in any of the legends which the mummings act at Christmas, always appears in a *calf's* or *cow's skin*. In the prologue to *Wily Beguiled*, are the two following passages :

"I'll make him do penance upon the stage in a *calf's-skin*."

Again :

"His *calf's-skin* jests from hence are clean exil'd,"

Again, in the play :

"I'll come wrapp'd in a *calf's-skin*, and cry bo, bo."—

Again : "I'll wrap me in a rousing *calf-skin* suit, and come like some Hobgoblin."—"I mean my *Christmas calf's-skin* suit."

STEEVENS.

It does not appear that Constance means to call Austria a *fool*, as Sir John Hawkins would have it ; but she certainly means to call him *coward*, and to tell him that a *calf's-skin* would suit his *recreant limbs* better than a lion's. They still say of a dastardly person that he is a *calf-hearted fellow* ; and a run-away school boy is usually called a *great calf*. RITSON.

The speaker in the play [*Wily Beguiled*] is Robin Goodfellow. Perhaps, as has been suggested, Constance, by cloathing Austria in a *calf's-skin*, means only to insinuate that he is a *coward*. The word *recreant* seems to favour such a supposition. MALONE.

BAST. And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs⁷.

K. JOHN. We like not this; thou dost forget thyself.

Enter PANDULPH.

K. PHI. Here comes the holy legate of the pope.

PAND. Hail, you anointed deputies of heaven !
To thee, king John, my holy errand is.
I Pandulph, of fair Milan cardinal,
And from Pope Innocent the legate here,
Do, in his name, religiously demand,
Why thou against the church, our holy mother,
So wilfully dost spurn ; and, force perforce,

⁷ *Bast.* And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs.] Here Mr. Pope inserts the following speeches from the old play of King John, printed in 1591, before Shakspeare appears to have commenced a writer :

" *Aust.* Methinks, that Richard's pride, and Richard's fall,
" Should be a precedent to fright you all.

" *Faulc.* What words are these ? how do my sinews shake !

" My father's foe clad in my father's spoil !

" How doth Alecko whisper in my ears,

" *Delay not, Richard, kill the villain straight ;*

" *Disrobe him of the matchless monument,*

" *Thy father's triumph o'er the savages !—*

" Now by his soul I swear, my father's soul,

" Twice will I not review the morning's rise,

" Till I have torn that trophy from thy back,

" And split thy heart for wearing it so long." STEEVENS.

I cannot, by any means, approve of the insertion of these lines from the other play. If they were necessary to "explain the ground of the bastard's quarrel to Austria," as Mr. Pope supposes, they should rather be inserted in the first scene of the second Act, at the time of the *first altercation* between the Bastard and Austria. But indeed the ground of their quarrel seems to be as clearly expressed in the first scene as in these lines ; so that they are unnecessary in either place ; and therefore, I think, should be thrown out of the text, as well as the three other lines, which have been inserted, with as little reason, in Act III. Sc. II. : " Thus hath King Richard's," &c. TYRWHITT.

Keep Stephen Langton, chosen archbishop
Of Canterbury, from that holy see ?
This, in our 'foresaid holy father's name,
Pope Innocent, I do demand of thee.

K. JOHN. What earthly name to interrogatories⁸,
Can task the free breath of a sacred king ?
Thou canst not, cardinal, devise a name
So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
To charge me to an answer, as the pope.

⁸ What earthly, &c.] This must have been at the time when it was written, in our struggles with popery, a very captivating scene.

So many passages remain in which Shakspeare evidently takes his advantage of the facts then recent, and of the passions then in motion, that I cannot but suspect that time has obscured much of his art, and that many allusions yet remain undiscovered, which perhaps may be gradually retrieved by succeeding commentators. JOHNSON.

The speech stands thus in the old spurious play: "And what hast thou, or the pope thy master, to do, to demand of me how I employ mine own? Know, sir priest, as I honour the church and holy churchmen, so I scorn to be subject to the greatest prelate in the world. Tell thy master so from me; and say, John of England said it, that never an Italian priest of them all, shall either have tythe, toll, or polling penny out of England; but as I am king, so will I reign next under God, supreme head both over spiritual and temporal: and he that contradicts me in this, I'll make him hop headless." STEEVENS.

"What *earthly* name to interrogatories,

"Can *task* the free *breath*," &c. i. e. 'What earthly name, *subjoined* to interrogatories, can force a king to *speak* and answer them?' The old copy reads—*earthly*. The emendation was made by Mr. Pope. It has also *tast* instead of *task*, which was substituted by Mr. Theobald. *Breath* for speech is common with our author. So, in a subsequent part of this scene:

"The latest *breath* that gave the sound of words."

Again, in The Merchant of Venice, "*breathing* courtesy," for *verbal* courtesy. MALONE.

The emendation [*task*] may be justified by the following passage in King Henry IV. Part I.:

"How show'd his *tasking*? seem'd it in contempt?"

Again, in King Henry V.:

"That *task* our thoughts concerning us and France."

STEEVENS.

Tell him this tale ; and from the mouth of England,
Add thus much more,—That no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions ;
But as we under heaven are supreme head,
So, under him, that great supremacy,
Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
Without the assistance of a mortal hand :
So tell the pope ; all reverence set apart,
To him, and his usurp'd authority.

K. PHI. Brother of England, you blaspheme in this.

K. JOHN. Though you, and all the kings of Christendom,
Are led so grossly by this meddling priest,
Dreading the curse that money may buy out ;
And, by the merit of vile gold, dross, dust,
Purchase corrupted pardon of a man,
Who, in that sale, sells pardon from himself :
Though you, and all the rest, so grossly led,
This juggling witchcraft with revenue cherish ;
Yet I, alone, alone do me oppose
Against the pope, and count his friends my foes.

PAND. Then, by the lawful power that I have,
Thou shalt stand curs'd, and excommunicate :
And blessed shall he be, that doth revolt
From his allegiance to an heretick ;
And meritorious shall that hand be call'd,
Canonized, and worshipp'd as a saint,
That takes away by any secret course
Thy hateful life⁹.

⁹ That takes away by any secret course

Thy hateful life.] This may allude to the bull published against Queen Elizabeth. Or we may suppose, since we have no proof that this play appeared in its present state before the reign of King James, that it was exhibited soon after the popish plot. I have seen a Spanish book in which Garnet, Faux, and their accomplices, are registered as saints. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson is incorrect in supposing that there is no

CONST. O, lawful let it be,
That I have room with Rome to curse a while !
Good father Cardinal, cry thou, amen,
To my keen curses ; for, without my wrong,
There is no tongue hath power to curse him right.

PAND. There's law and warrant, lady, for my curse.

CONST. And for mine too ; when law can do no right,
Let it be lawful, that law bar no wrong :
Law cannot give my child his kingdom here ;
For he, that holds his kingdom, holds the law :
Therefore, since law itself is perfect wrong,
How can the law forbid my tongue to curse ?

PAND. Philip of France, on peril of a curse,
Let go the hand of that arch-heretick ;
And raise the power of France upon his head,
Unless he do submit himself to Rome.

ELI. Look'st thou pale, France ? do not let go thy hand.

CONST. Look to that, devil, lest that France repent,
And, by disjoining hands, hell lose a soul,

AUST. King Philip, listen to the cardinal.

BAST. And hang a calf's-skin on his recreant limbs.

proof that this play appeared before the reign of King James. It is mentioned by Meres in the year 1598 : but if any allusion to his own times was intended by the author of the old play, (for this speech is formed on one in King John, 1591,) it must have been to the bull of Pope Pius the Fifth, 1569 : " Then I Pandulph of Padua, legate from the Apostolike sea, doe in the name of Saint Peter, and his successor, our holy father Pope Innocent, pronounce thee *accursed*, discharging every of thy subjects of all dutie and fealtie that they do owe to thee, and pardon and forgiveness of sinne to those or them whatsoever which shall *carrie armes* against thee or *murder* thee. This I pronounce, and charge all good men to abhorre thee as an *excommunicate* person." MALONE.

Aust. Well, ruffian, I must pocket up these wrongs,

Because——

Bast. Your breeches best may carry them ¹.

K. JOHN. Philip, what say'st thou to the cardinal?

CONST. What should he say, but as the cardinal?

LEW. Bethink you, father; for the difference
Is, purchase of a heavy curse from Rome ²,
Or the light loss of England for a friend:
Forgo the easier.

BLANCH. That's the curse of Rome.

CONST. O Lewis, stand fast; the devil tempts
thee here,

In likeness of a new untrimmed bride ³.

¹ Your breeches best may carry them.] Perhaps there is somewhat proverbial in this sarcasm. So, in the old play of *King Leir*, 1605:

“*Mum.* Well I have a payre of slops for the nonce,

“Will hold all your mocks.” STEEVENS.

² Is, purchase of a heavy curse from Rome,] It is a political maxim, that *kingdoms are never married*. Lewis, upon the wedding, is for making war upon his new relations. JOHNSON.

³ — the devil tempts thee here,

In likeness of a new UNTRIMMED bride.] Though all the copies concur in this reading, yet as *untrimmed* cannot bear any signification to square with the sense required, I cannot help thinking it a corrupted reading. I have ventured to throw out the negative, and read:

“In likeness of a new *and trimmed* bride.”

i. e. of a new bride, and one decked and adorned as well by art as nature. THEOBALD.

Mr. Theobald says, “that as *untrimmed* cannot bear any signification to square with the sense required,” it must be corrupt; therefore he will cashier it, and read—*and trimmed*; in which he is followed by the Oxford editor: but they are both too hasty. It squares very well with the sense, and signifies *unsteady*. The term is taken from navigation. We say too, in a similar way of speaking, *not well manned*. WARBURTON.

I think Mr. Theobald's correction more plausible than Dr. Warburton's explanation. A commentator should be grave, and therefore I can read these notes with proper severity of attention; but the idea of *trimming* a lady to *keep her steady*, would be too risible for any common power of face. JOHNSON.

BLANCH. The lady Constance speaks not from
her faith,
But from her need.

Trim is *dress*. An *untrimmed* bride is a bride *undrest*. Could the tempter of mankind assume a semblance in which he was more likely to be successful? But notwithstanding what Aristænetus assures us concerning *Lais*—ἐνδεδυμένη μὲν, εὐπροσωποτάτη δὲ ἐκδύσα δὲ ὅλην πρὶς ὡπὼν φαίνεται,—that *drest* she was beautiful, *undrest* she was *all beauty*—by Shakspeare's epithet—*untrimmed*, I do not mean absolutely *naked*, but

Nuda pedem, discincta sinum, spoliata lacertos;
in short, whatever is comprized in Lothario's idea of *unattired*.

Non mihi sancta Diana placet, nec nuda Cythere;

Illa voluptatis nil habet, hæc nimium.

The devil (says Constance) raises to your imagination your bride disencumbered of the forbidding forms of dress, and the memory of my wrongs is lost in the anticipation of future enjoyment.

Ben Jonson in his *New Inn*, says :

“*Bur.* Here's a lady gay.

“*Tip.* A *well-trimm'd* lady!”

Again, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* :

“And I was *trimm'd* in madam Julia's gown.”

Again, in *King Henry VI. Part III. Act II.* :

“*Trimm'd* like a younker prancing to his love.”

Again, in *Reginald Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, 1514* :

“—a good huswife, and also well *trimmed* up in apparel.”

Mr. Collins inclines to a colder interpretation, and is willing to suppose that by an “*untrimmed* bride” is meant ‘a bride unadorned with the usual pomp and formality of a nuptial habit.’ The propriety of this epithet he infers from the haste in which the match was made, and further justifies it from *King John's* preceding words :

“Go we, as well as *haste* will suffer us,

“To this unlook'd for, *unprepared* pomp.”

Mr. Tollet is of the same opinion, and offers two instances in which *untrimmed* indicates a deshable or a frugal vesture. In *Minsheu's Dictionary*, it signifies one not finely dressed or attired. Again, in *Vives's Instruction of a Christian Woman, 1592, p. 98 and 99* : “Let her [the mistress of the house] bee content with a maide not faire and wanton, that can sing a baliad with a clere voice, but sad, pale, and *untrimmed*.” STEEVENS.

I incline to think that the transcriber's ear deceived him, and that we should read, as Mr. Theobald has proposed—

“—a new and *trimmed* bride.”

CONST. O, if thou grant my need,
Which only lives but by the death of faith,
That need must needs infer this principle,—
That faith would live again by death of need ;
O, then, tread down my need, and faith mounts up ;
Keep my need up, and faith is trodden down.

K. JOHN. The king is mov'd, and answers not to this.

CONST. O, be remov'd from him, and answer well.

AUST. Do so, king Philip ; hang no more in doubt.

BAST. Hang nothing but a calf's-skin, most sweet lout.

K. PHI. I am perplex'd, and know not what to say.

The following passage in King Henry IV. Part I. appears to me strongly to support his conjecture :

" When I was dry with rage, and extreme toil,—

" Came there a certain lord, neat, *trimly* dress'd,

" Fresh as a *bridegroom* —."

Again, more appositely, in Romeo and Juliet :

" Go, waken Juliet ; go, and *trim* her up ;

" Make haste ; the *bridegroom* he is come already."

Again, in Cymbeline :

" ——— and forget

" Your laboursome and dainty *trims*, wherein

" You made great Juno angry."

Again, in our author's Venus and Adonis :

" The flowers are sweet, their colours fresh and *trim* —."

The freshness which our author has connected with the word *trim*, in the first and last of these passages, and the 'laboursome and dainty *trims* that made great Juno angry,' which surely a bride may be supposed most likely to indulge in, (however scantily Blanch's toilet may have been furnished in a camp,) prove, either that this emendation is right, or that Mr. Collins's interpretation of the word *untrimmed* is the true one. Minsheu's definition of *untrimmed*, "*qui n'est point orné,—inornatus incultus*," as well as his explanation of the verb "to trim," which, according to him, means the same as "to *prank* up," may also be adduced to the same point. See his Dictionary, 1617. Mr. M. Mason justly observes, that "to *trim* means to *dress out*, but not to *clothe* ; and, consequently, though it might mean *unadorned*, it cannot mean *unclad*, or *naked*." MALONE.

PAND. What can'st thou say, but will perplex
thee more,

If thou stand excommunicate, and curs'd ?

K. PHI. Good reverend father, make my person
yours,

And tell me, how you would bestow yourself.

This royal hand and mine are newly knit ;

And the conjunction of our inward souls

Married in league, coupled and link'd together

With all religious strength of sacred vows ;

The latest breath that gave the sound of words,

Was deep-sworn faith, peace, amity, true love,

Between our kingdoms, and our royal selves ;

And even before this truce, but new before,—

No longer than we well could wash our hands,

To clap this royal bargain up of peace,—

Heaven knows, they were besmear'd and overstain'd

With slaughter's pencil ; where revenge did paint

The fearful difference of incensed kings :

And shall these hands, so lately purg'd of blood,

So newly join'd in love, so strong in both ⁴,

Unyoke this seizure, and this kind regret ⁵ ?

Play fast and loose with faith ? so jest with heaven,

Make such unconstant children of ourselves,

As now again to snatch our palm from palm ;

Unswear faith sworn ; and on the marriage bed

Of smiling peace to march a bloody host,

And make a riot on the gentle brow

Of true sincerity ? O holy sir,

My reverend father, let it not be so :

Out of your grace, devise, ordain, impose

⁴ — so strong in both,] I believe the meaning is, “love so strong in both *parties*.” JOHNSON.

Rather, in *hatred* and in *love* ; in deeds of *amity* or *blood*.

HENLEY.

⁵ — this kind REGRET?] A *regret* is an exchange of *salutation*. So, in Heywood's *Iron Age*, 1632:

“So bear our kind *regrets* to Hecuba.” STEEVENS.

Some gentle order ; and then we shall be bless'd
To do your pleasure, and continue friends.

PAND. All form is formless, order orderless,
Save what is opposite to England's love.
Therefore, to arms ! be champion of our church !
Or let the church, our mother, breathe her curse,
A mother's curse, on her revolting son.
France, thou may'st hold a serpent by the tongue,
A cased lion⁶ by the mortal paw,
A fasting tiger safer by the tooth,
Than keep in peace that hand which thou dost
hold.

K. PHIL. I may disjoin my hand, but not my
faith.

PAND. So mak'st thou faith an enemy to faith ;
And, like a civil war, set'st oath to oath,
Thy tongue against thy tongue. O, let thy vow
First made to heaven, first be to heaven perform'd ;
That is, to be the champion of our church !
What since thou swor'st, is sworn against thyself,
And may not be performed by thyself :
For that, which thou hast sworn to do amiss,
Is not amiss when it is truly done⁷ ;

⁶ A *CASED* lion—] The modern editors read—a *chafed* lion. I see little reason for change. “A *cased* lion” is ‘a lion irritated by confinement.’ So, in King Henry VI. Part III. Act I. Sc. III. ;

“ So looks the *pent-up* lion o'er the wretch

“ That trembles under his devouring paws ; ” &c.

STEEVENS.

Again, in Rowley's *When you See Me you Know Me*, 1621 :

“ The lyon in his *cage* is not so sterne

“ As royal Henry in his wrathful spleene.”

Our author was probably thinking on the lions, which in his time, as at present, were kept in the Tower, in dens so small as fully to justify the epithet he has used. MALONE.

⁷ Is *NOT* amiss, when it is truly done ;] This is a conclusion *de travers*. We should read :

“ Is *yet* amiss—,”

The Oxford editor, according to his usual custom, will improve it further, and reads—*most* amiss. WARBURTON.

And being not done, where doing tends to ill,
 The truth is then most done not doing it :
 The better act of purposes mistook
 Is, to mistake again ; though indirect,
 Yet indirection thereby grows direct,
 And falsehood falsehood cures ; as fire cools fire,
 Within the scorched veins of one new burn'd.
 It is religion, that doth make vows kept ;
 But thou hast sworn against religion ^s ;

I rather read :

" *Is't* not amiss, when it is truly done ? "

as the alteration is less, and the sense which Dr. Warburton first discovered is preserved. JOHNSON.

The old copies read :

" *Is* not amiss, when it is truly done."

Pandulph, having conjured the King to perform his first vow to heaven,—to be champion of the church,—tells him, that what he has since sworn is sworn against himself, and therefore may not be performed by him : for *that*, says he, which you have sworn to *do amiss*, is *not amiss*, (i. e. becomes right) when it is *done truly* (that is, as he explains it, not done at all) ; and being *not done*, where it would be a *sin* to *do it*, the *truth* is *most done* when you *do it not*. So, in *Love's Labour's Lost* :

" It is *religion* to be *thus forsworn*." RITSON.

Again, in *Cymbeline* :

" ——— she is fool'd

" With a most false effect, and *I the truer*

" *So to be false with her*."

By placing the second couplet of this sentence before the first, the passage will appear perfectly clear. " Where doing tends to ill," where an intended act is criminal, the *truth* is *most done*, by *not doing* the act. The criminal act therefore which thou hast sworn to do, *is not amiss*, will not be imputed to you as a crime, if it be done *truly*, in the sense I have now affixed to *truth* ; that is, if you do *not* do it. MALONE.

^s But thou hast sworn against religion ; &c.] The propositions, that " the voice of the church is the voice of heaven," and that " the Pope utters the voice of the church," neither of which Pandulph's auditors would deny, being once granted, the argument here used is irresistible ; nor is it easy, notwithstanding the jingle, to enforce it with greater brevity or propriety :

" But thou hast sworn against religion :

" By *what* thou swear'st against the thing thou swear'st :

" And mak'st an oath the surety for thy truth,

By what thou swear'st, against the thing thou swear'st ;

“ Against an oath the truth thou art unsure

“ To swear, swear only not to be forsworn.”

“ By *what*.” Sir T. Hanmer reads—By *that*. I think it should be rather by *which*. That is, “ thou swear'st against the thing, by *which* thou swear'st ; that is, “ *against religion*.”

The most formidable difficulty is in these lines :

“ And mak'st an oath the surety for thy truth,

“ Against an oath the truth thou art unsure

“ To swear,” &c.

This Sir T. Hanmer reforms thus :

“ And mak'st an oath the surety for thy truth,

“ Against an oath ; *this* truth thou art unsure

“ To swear,” &c.

Dr. Warburton writes it thus :

“ Against an oath the truth thou art unsure—.”

which leaves the passage to me as obscure as before.

I know not whether there is any corruption beyond the omission of a point. The sense, after I had considered it, appeared to me only this : “ In swearing by religion against religion, to which thou hast already sworn, thou makest an oath the security for thy faith against an oath already taken.” I will give, says he, a rule for conscience in these cases. Thou may'st be in doubt about the matter of an oath ; “ when thou swearest, thou may'st *not* be always *sure* to swear rightly ;” but let this be thy settled principle, “ swear only not to be forsworn :” let not the latter oaths be at variance with the former.

Truth, through this whole speech, means *rectitude* of conduct.

JOHNSON.

I believe the old reading is right ; and that the line “ By *what*,” &c. is put in apposition with that which precedes it : “ But thou hast sworn against religion ; thou hast sworn, *by what thou swearest*, i. e. in that which thou hast sworn, *against the thing thou swearest by* ; i. e. religion. Our author has many such elliptical expressions. So, in King Henry VIII. :

“ — Whoever the king favours,

“ The cardinal will quickly find employment [*for*],

“ And far enough from court too.”

Again, *ibidem* :

“ This is about that which the bishop spake ” [*of*].

Again, in King Richard III. :

“ True ornaments to know a holy man ” [*by*].

Again, in The Winter's Tale :

“ A bed-swarver, even as bad as those

“ That vulgars give bold'st titles ” [*to*].

And mak'st an oath the surety for thy truth
 Against an oath : The truth thou art unsure
 'To swear, swear only not to be forsworn⁹ ;
 Else, what a mockery should it be to swear ?
 But thou dost swear only to be forsworn ;
 And most forsworn, to keep what thou dost swear.
 Therefore, thy latter vows, against thy first,
 Is in thyself rebellion to thyself :
 And better conquest never canst thou make,
 'Than arm thy constant and thy nobler parts
 Against those giddy loose suggestions ;
 Upon which better part our prayers come in,
 If thou vouchsafe them : but, if not, then know,
 The peril of our curses light on thee ;
 So heavy, as thou shalt not shake them off,
 But, in despair, die under their black weight.

AUST. Rebellion, flat rebellion !

BAST.

Will't not be ?

Will not a calf's-skin stop that mouth of thine ?

LEW. Father, to arms !

BLANCH.

Upon thy wedding day ?

Against the blood that thou hast married ?

What, shall our feast be kept with slaughter'd men ?
 Shall braying trumpets¹, and loud churlish drums,—

Again, *ibidem* :

“ — the queen is spotless —

“ In this that you accuse her” [*of*]. *MALONE.*

⁹ — *SWEAR* only not to be forsworn ;] The old copy reads—*swears*, which, in my apprehension, shows that two half lines have been lost, in which the person supposed to *swear* was mentioned. When the same word is repeated in two succeeding lines, the eye of the compositor often glances from the first to the second, and in consequence the intermediate words are omitted. For what has been lost, it is now in vain to seek ; I have therefore adopted the emendation made by Mr. Pope, which makes some kind of sense. *MALONE.*

¹ — braying trumpets,] *Bray* appears to have been particularly applied to express the harsh grating sound of the trumpet. So, in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, b. iv. c. xii. st. 6 :

“ And when it ceast shrill *trompets* loud did *bray*.”

Again, b. iv. c. iv. st. 48 :

Clamours of hell,—be measures² to our pomp?
 O husband, hear me!—ah, alack, how new
 Is husband in my mouth!—even for that name,
 Which till this time my tongue did ne'er pronounce,
 Upon my knee I beg, go not to arms
 Against mine uncle.

CONST. O, upon my knee,
 Made hard with kneeling, I do pray to thee,
 Thou virtuous Dauphin, alter not the doom
 Fore-thought by heaven.

BLANCH. Now shall I see thy love; What motive
 may
 Be stronger with thee than the name of wife?

CONST. That which upholdeth him that thee up-
 holds,
 His honour: O, thine honour, Lewis, thine honour!
 LEW. I muse³, your majesty doth seem so cold,

“Then shrilling *trompets* loudly ‘gan to *bray*.”
 And elsewhere in the play before us:
 “—— Hard-resounding *trompets*’ dreadful *bray*.”
 Again, in Hamlet:

“The *trumpet* shall *bray* out——.”
 Gawin Douglas, in his translation of the *Æneid*, renders
 “sub axe *tonanti*——.” (lib. v. v. 820:)

“Under the *brayand* quibelis and assiltre.”

Blackmore is ridiculed in the *Dunciad*, (b. ii.) for *endeavouring to ennoble this word by applying it to the sound of armour, war, &c.* He might have pleaded these authorities, and that of Milton:

“Arms on armour clashing *bray’d*
 “Horrible discord.” *Paradise Lost*, b. vi. v. 209.

Nor did Gray, scrupulous as he was in language, reject it in
 The Bard:

“Heard ye the din of battle *bray*?” HOLT WHITE.

² —be MEASURES—] The *measures*, it has already been
 more than once observed, were a species of solemn dance in our
 author’s time.

This speech is formed on the following lines in the old play:

“*Blanch*. And will your grace upon your wedding-day

“Forsake your bride, and follow dreadful drums?

“*Phil*. Drums shall be musick to this wedding-day.”

MALONE.

³ I MUSE,] i. e. I wonder. REED.

When such profound respects do pull you on.

PAND. I will denounce a curse upon his head.

K. PHI. Thou shalt not need ;—England, I'll fall from thee.

CONST. O fair return of banish'd majesty !

ELI. O foul revolt of French inconstancy !

K. JOHN. France, thou shalt rue this hour within this hour.

BAST. Old time the clock-setter, that bald sexton time,

Is it as he will ? well then, France shall rue.

BLANCH. The sun's o'ercast with blood : Fair day, adieu !

Which is the side that I must go withal ?

I am with both : each army hath a hand ;

And, in their rage, I having hold of both,

They whirl asunder, and dismember me ⁴.

Husband, I cannot pray that thou may'st win ;

Uncle, I needs must pray that thou may'st lose ;

Father, I may not wish the fortune thine ;

Grandam, I will not wish thy wishes thrive :

Whoever wins, on that side shall I lose ;

Assured loss, before the match be play'd.

LEW. Lady, with me ; with me thy fortune lies.

BLANCH. There where my fortune lives, there my life dies.

K. JOHN. Cousin, go draw our puissance together.— [Exit Bastard.

So, in Middleton's Tragi-Coomodie, called The Witch :

“ And why thou staist so long, I muse,

“ Since the air's so sweet and good ” STEEVENS.

⁴ They whirl asunder, and dismember me.] Alluding to a well-known Roman punishment :

— Metium in diversa quadrigæ

Distulerant. *Æneid*, viii. 642. STEEVENS.

See vol. xiv. p. 127, n. 3, where I have shewn that Shakspeare was much more likely to have alluded in cases of this sort to events which had happened in his own time than to the Roman history.

MALONE.

France, I am burn'd up with inflaming wrath ;
 A rage, whose heat hath this condition,
 That nothing can allay, nothing but blood,
 'The blood, and dearest-valu'd blood, of France.

K. PHIL. Thy rage shall burn thee up, and thou
 shalt turn
 To ashes, ere our blood shall quench that fire :
 Look to thyself, thou art in jeopardy.

K. JOHN. No more than he that threatens.—To
 arms let's hie ! [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II.

The Same. Plains near Angiers.

*Alarums, Excursions. Enter the Bastard, with
 AUSTRIA'S Head.*

BAST. Now, by my life, this day grows wondrous
 hot ;
 Some airy devil ⁵ hovers in the sky,

⁵ Some AIRY devil —] Shakspeare here probably alludes to the distinctions and divisions of some of the demonologists, so much regarded in his time. They distributed the devils into different tribes and classes, each of which had its peculiar qualities, attributes, &c.

These are described at length in Burton's *Anatomic of Melancholy*, Part I. sect. ii. p. 45, 1632 :

“Of these sublunary devils—Psellus makes six kinds ; fiery, aeriall, terrestriall, watery, and subterranean devils, besides those faieries, satyres, nymphes,” &c.

“Fiery spirits or divells are such as commonly worke by blazing starres, fire-drakes, and counterfeit sunnes and moones, and sit on ships' masts,” &c. &c.

“Aeriall spirits or divells are such as keep quarter most part in the aire, cause many tempests, thunder and lightnings, teare oakes, fire steeples, houses, strike men and beasts, make it raine stones,” &c. PERCY.

There is a minute description of different devils or spirits, and their different functions, in Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication,

And pours down mischief. Austria's head, lie there ;
While Philip breathes⁶.

Enter King JOHN, ARTHUR, and HUBERT.

K. JOHN. Hubert, keep this boy⁷ :—Philip⁸,
make up :
My mother is assailed in our tent⁹,
And ta'en, I fear.

BAST. My lord, I rescued her ;
Her highness is in safety, fear you not :
But on, my liege ; for very little pains
Will bring this labour to an happy end. [*Exeunt.*]

1592: With respect to the passage in question, take the following: "—the spirits of the *aire* will mixe themselves with thunder and lightning, and so *infect* the clyme where they raise any tempest, that sodainely great mortalitie shall ensue to the inhabitants. The spirits of *fire* have their mansions under the regions of the moone." HENDERSON.

⁶ While Philip breathes.] Here Mr. Pope, without authority, adds from the old play already mentioned :

" Thus hath king Richard's son perform'd his vow,

" And offer'd Austria's blood for sacrifice

" Unto his father's ever-living soul." STEEVENS.

⁷ Hubert, keep this boy :] Thus the old copies. Mr. Tyrwhitt would read :

" Hubert, keep *thou* this boy :"— STEEVENS.

⁸ — Philip.] Here the King, who had knighted him by the name of Sir *Richard*, calls him by his former name. STEEVENS.

⁹ My mother is assailed in our tent.] The author has not attended closely to the history. The Queen-mother, whom King John had made Regent in Anjou, was in possession of the town of Mirabeau, in that province. On the approach of the French army with Arthur at their head, she sent letters to King John to come to her relief ; which he did immediately. As he advanced to the town, he encountered the army that lay before it, routed them, and took Arthur prisoner. The Queen in the mean while remained in perfect security in the castle of Mirabeau.

Such is the best authenticated account. Other historians however say that Arthur took Eleanor prisoner. The author of the old play has followed them. In that piece Eleanor is taken by Arthur, and rescued by her son. MALONE.

SCENE III.

The Same.

Alarums; Excursions; Retreat. Enter King JOHN, ELINOR, ARTHUR, the Bastard, HUBERT, and Lords.

K. JOHN. So shall it be; your grace shall stay behind, [*To ELINOR.*]
So strongly guarded.—Cousin, look not sad :
[*To ARTHUR.*]

Thy grandam loves thee ; and thy uncle will
As dear be to thee as thy father was.

ARTH. O, this will make my mother die with grief.

K. JOHN, Cousin, [*To the Bastard.*] away for England ; haste before :

And, ere our coming, see thou shake the bags
Of hoarding abbots ; angels imprisoned
Set thou at liberty ¹ : the fat ribs of peace
Must by the hungry now be fed upon ² :

¹ Set THOU at liberty :] The word *thou* (which is wanting in the old copy) was judiciously added, for the sake of metre, by Sir T. Hanmer. STEEVENS.

² — the fat ribs of peace

Must by the hungry now be fed upon :] This word *now* seems a very idle term here, and conveys no satisfactory idea. An antithesis, and opposition of terms, so perpetual with our author, requires :

“ Must by the hungry *war* be fed upon.”

War, demanding a large expence, is very poetically said to be *hungry*, and to prey on the wealth and *fat* of *peace*.

WARBURTON.

This emendation is better than the former word, but yet not necessary. Sir T. Hanmer reads—hungry *maw*, with less deviation from the common reading, but not with so much force or elegance as *war*. JOHNSON.

Use our commission in his utmost force.

BAST. Bell, book, and candle³ shall not drive me
back,

When gold and silver becks me to come on.

I leave your highness :—Grandam, I will pray

Either emendation may be unnecessary. Perhaps, the “hungry now” is ‘this hungry instant.’ Shakspeare uses the word *now* as a substantive, in *Measure for Measure* :

“ ——— till this very *now*,

“ When men were fond, I smil’d and wonder’d how.”

STEEVENS.

The meaning, I think, is, “ — the fat ribs of peace must now be fed upon by the hungry troops,” — to whom some share of this ecclesiastical spoil would naturally fall. The expression, like many other of our author’s, is taken from the sacred writings : “ And there he maketh *the hungry* to dwell, that they may prepare a city for habitation.” 107th Psalm.—Again : “ He hath filled *the hungry* with good things,” &c. St. Luke, i. 53.

This interpretation is supported by the passage in the old play, which is here imitated ;

“ Philip, I make thee chief in this affair ;

“ Ransack their abbeyes, cloysters, priories,

“ Convert their coin unto my *soldiers’* use.”

When I read this passage in the old play, the first idea that suggested itself was, that a word had dropped out at the press, in the line before us, and that our author wrote :

“ Must by the hungry *soldiers* now be fed on.”

But the interpretation above given renders any alteration unnecessary. MALONE.

³ BELL, BOOK, and CANDLE —] In an account of the Romish curse given by Dr. Grey, it appears that three candles were extinguished, one by one, in different parts of the execration.

JOHNSON.

I meet with the same expression in *Ram-Alley*, or *Merry Tricks*, 1611 :

“ I’ll have a priest shall mumble up a marriage

“ Without *bell, book, or candle.*” STEEVENS.

In Archbishop Winchelsea’s Sentences of Excommunication, anno 1298, (see Johnson’s *Ecclesiastical Laws*, vol. ii.) it is directed that the sentence against infringers of certain articles should be “ — throughout explained *in order in English*, with *bells tolling*, and *candies lighted*, that it may cause the greater dread ; for laymen have greater regard to this solemnity, than to the effect of such sentences.” See Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, vol. xii. p. 397, edit. 1780. REED.

(If ever I remember to be holy,)
For your fair safety ; so I kiss your hand.

ELI. Farewell, my gentle cousin.

K. JOHN.

Coz, farewell.

[*Exit Bastard.*

ELI. Come hither, little kinsman ; hark, a word.

[*She takes ARTHUR aside.*

K. JOHN. Come hither, Hubert. O my gentle
Hubert,

We owe thee much ; within this wall of flesh

There is a soul, counts thee her creditor,

And with advantage means to pay thy love :

And, my good friend, thy voluntary oath

Lives in this bosom, dearly cherished.

Give me thy hand. I had a thing to say,—

But I will fit it with some better time ⁴.

By heaven, Hubert, I am almost ashamed

To say what good respect I have of thee.

HUB. I am much bounden to your majesty.

K. JOHN. Good friend, thou hast no cause to say
so yet :

But thou shalt have ; and creep time ne'er so slow,
Yet it shall come, for me to do thee good.

I had a thing to say,—But let it go :

The sun is in the heaven, and the proud day,

Attended with the pleasures of the world,

Is all too wanton, and too full of gawds ⁵,

⁴ — with some better TIME.] The old copy reads—*tune*. Corrected by Mr. Pope. The same mistake has happened in *Twelfth Night*. See that play, vol. xi. p. 397, n. 3. In *Macbeth*, Act IV. Sc. ult. we have—"This *time* goes manly," instead of—"This *tune* goes manly." MALONE.

In the hand-writing of Shakspeare's age, the words *time* and *tune* are scarcely to be distinguished from each other. STEEVENS.

⁵ — full of GAWDS.] *Gawds* are any showy ornaments. So, in *The Dumb Knight*, 1633 :

"To caper in his grave. and with vain *gawds*

"Trick up his coffin."

See *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, vol. v. p. 178, n. 8.

STEEVENS.

To give me audience :—If the midnight bell
 Did, with his iron tongue and brazen mouth,
 Sound one into the drowsy race of night ⁶ ;
 If this same were a church-yard where we stand,

⁶ Sound *ONE* into the drowsy race of night ;] The word *one* is here, as in many other passages in these plays, written *on* in the old copy. Mr. Theobald made the correction. In Chaucer, and other old writers, *one* is usually written *on*. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Glossary to The Canterbury Tales. So *once* was anciently written *ons*. And it should seem, from a quibbling passage in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, that *one*, in some counties at least, was pronounced, in our author's time, as if written *on*. Hence the transcriber's ear might easily have deceived him. One of the persons whom I employed to read aloud to me each sheet of the present work [Mr. Malone's edition, 1790] before it was printed off, constantly sounded the word *one* in this manner. He was a native of Herefordshire.

The instances that are found in the original editions of our author's plays, in which *on* is printed instead of *one*, are so numerous, that there cannot, in my apprehension, be the smallest doubt that *one* is the true reading in the line before us. Thus, in Coriolanus, edit. 1623, p. 15 :

“ — This double worship,—

“ Where *on* part does disdain with cause, the other

“ Insult without all reason.”

Again, in Cymbeline, 1623, p. 380 :

“ — perchance he spoke not ; but

“ Like a full-acorn'd boar, a Jarmen *on*,” &c.

Again, in Romeo and Juliet, 1623, p. 66 :

“ And thou, and Romeo, press *on* heavie bier.”

Again, in The Comedy of Errors, 1623, p. 94 :

“ *On*, whose hard heart is button'd up with steel.”

Again, in All's Well That End's Well, 1623, p. 240 : “ A good traveller is something at the latter end of a dinner,—but *on* that lies three thirds,” &c.

Again, in Love's Labour's Lost, quarto, 1598 :

“ *On*, whom the musick of his own vaine tongue—.”

Again, *ibid.* edit. 1623, p. 113 :

“ *On*, her hairs were gold, crystal the other's eyes.”

The same spelling is found in many other books. So, in Holand's Suetonius, 1606, p. 14 : “ — he caught from *on* of them a trumpet,” &c.

I should not have produced so many passages to prove a fact of which no one can be ignorant, who has the *slightest knowledge* of

And thou possessed with a thousand wrongs ;
Or if that surly spirit, melancholy,

the early editions of these plays, or of our older writers, had not the author of Remarks, &c. on the last Edition of Shakspeare, asserted, with that *modesty and accuracy* by which his pamphlet is distinguished, that the observation contained in the former part of this note was made by one totally unacquainted with the old copies, and that "it would be difficult to find a *single instance*" in which *on* and *one* are confounded in those copies.

Mr. Theobald also proposed to read *unto* for *into*, which has been too hastily adopted ; for *into* seems to have been frequently used for *unto* in Shakspeare's time. So, in Harsnet's Declaration, &c. 1603 ; "—when the nimble vice would skip up nimbly—*into* the devil's neck."

Again, in Daniel's Civil Wars, b. iv. folio, 1602 :

"She doth conspire to have him made away,

"Thrust *thereinto* not only with her pride,

"But by her father's counsel and consent."

Again, in our poet's King Henry V. :

"Which to reduce *into* our former favour—."

Again, in King Henry VIII. :

"——— Yes, that goodness

"Of gleanings all the land's wealth *into* one."

i. e. *into* one *man*. Here we should now certainly write "*unto* one."

Independently, indeed, of what has been now stated, *into* ought to be restored. So, Marlowe, in his King Edward II. 1598 :

"I'll thunder such a peal *into* his ears," &c.

So also Bishop Hall, in his Heaven upon Earth : "These courses are not incident *into* an almighty power, who having the command of all vengeance, can smite when he list !" MALONE.

I should suppose the meaning of—"Sound on," to be this : 'If the midnight bell, by repeated strokes, was to hasten away the race of beings who are busy at that hour, or quicken night itself in its progress ;' the morning bell (that is, the bell that strikes *one*.) could not, with strict propriety, be made the agent ; for the bell has ceased to be in the service of night, when it proclaims the arrival of day. *Sound on* may also have a peculiar propriety, because, by the repetition of the strokes at *twelve*, it gives a much more forcible warning than when it only strikes *one*.

Such was once my opinion concerning the old reading ; but on re-consideration, its propriety cannot appear more doubtful to any one than to myself.

It is too late to talk of hastening the night, when the arrival of the morning is announced : and I am afraid that the repeated strokes have less of solemnity than the single notice, as they take

Had bak'd thy blood, and made it heavy, thick ;
 (Which, else, runs tickling up and down the veins,
 Making that idiot, laughter, keep men's eyes,
 And strain their cheeks to idle merriment,
 A passion hateful to my purposes ;)
 Or if that thou could'st see me without eyes,
 Hear me without thine ears, and make reply
 Without a tongue, using conceit alone ⁷,
 Without eyes, ears, and harmful sound of words ;
 Then, in despite of brooded ⁸ watchful day,

from the horror and awful silence here described as so propitious to the dreadful purposes of the king. Though the hour of *one* be not the natural midnight, it is yet the most solemn moment of the poetical one; and Shakspeare himself has chosen to introduce his Ghost in Hamlet,—

“The bell then beating *one*.”

Shakspeare may be restored into obscurity. I retain Mr. Theobald's correction; for though “thundering a peal *into* a man's ears” is good English, I do not perceive that such an expression as “sounding one *into* a drowsy race,” is countenanced by any example hitherto produced. STEEVENS.

⁷ — using CONCEIT alone,] *Conceit* here, as in many other places, signifies *conception*, thought. So, in King Richard III.:

“There's some *conceit* or other likes him well,

“When that he bids good-morrow with such spirit.”

MALONE.

⁸ — brooded —] So the old copy. Mr. Pope reads—*broad-ey'd*, which alteration, however elegant, may be unnecessary. All animals while *brooded*, i. e. “with a brood of young ones under their protection,” are remarkably vigilant.—The King says of Hamlet:

“———— there's something in his soul

“O'er which his melancholy sits on *brood*.”

In P. Holland's translation of Pliny's Natural History, a *broodie* hen is the term for a hen that sits on eggs. See p. 301, edit. 1601:

Milton also, in L'Allegro, desires Melancholy to—

“—— Find out some uncouth cell

“Where *brooding* darkness spreads his *jealous* wings:”

plainly alluding to the *watchfulness* of fowls while they are sitting. *Broad-eyed*, however, is a compound epithet to be found in Chapman's version of the eighth Iliad:

“And hinder *broad-ey'd* Jove's proud will—.” STEEVENS.

Brooded, I apprehend, is here used, with our author's usual

I would into thy bosom pour my thoughts :
But ah, I will not :—Yet I love thee well ;
And, by my troth, I think, thou lov'st me well.

HUB. So well, that what you bid me undertake,
Though that my death were adjunct to my act,
By heaven, I'd do't.

K. JOHN. Do not I know, thou would'st ?
Good Hubert, Hubert, Hubert, throw thine eye
On yon young boy : I'll tell thee what, my friend,
He is a very serpent in my way ;
And, wheresoe'er this foot of mine doth tread,
He lies before me : Dost thou understand me ?
Thou art his keeper.

HUB. And I will keep him so,
That he shall not offend your majesty.

K. JOHN. Death.

HUB. My lord ?

K. JOHN. A grave.

HUB. He shall not live.

licence, for *brooding* ; i. e. day, who is as vigilant, as ready with open eye to mark what is done in his presence, as an animal at brood.

Shakspeare appears to have been so fond of domestick and familiar images, that one cannot help being surprized that Mr. Pope, in revising these plays, should have gained so little knowledge of his manner as to suppose any corruption here in the text. *MALONE.*

The same image is found in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Borduca*, Act IV. Sc. II. :

“ See how he *broods* the boy.”

Again, in *The Woman's Prize*, Act I. Sc. I. :

“ This fellow *broods* his master.”

Brooded is used for *brooding* by Shakspeare, (says Mr. Malone) with his usual licence. So delighted for delighting in *Othello* :

“ If virtue no *delighted* beauty lack.”

Discontenting for discontented :

“ Your *discontenting* father strive to qualify.”

And so in a multitude of other instances. *BOSWELL.*

I am not thoroughly reconciled to this reading ; but it would be somewhat improved by joining the words *brooded* and *watchful* by a hyphen—*brooded-watchful*. *M. MASON.*

K. JOHN.

Enough.

I could be merry now: Hubert, I love thee;
 Well, I'll not say what I intend for thee:
 Remember⁹.—Madam, fare you well:
 I'll send those powers o'er to your majesty.

ELI. My blessing go with thee!

K. JOHN. For England, cousin¹, go:
 Hubert shall be your man, attend on you
 With all true duty.—On toward Calais, ho!
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

The Same. The French King's Tent.

Enter King PHILIP, LEWIS, PANDULPH, and Attendants.

K. PHIL. So, by a roaring tempest on the flood,
 A whole armado² of convicted sail³

⁹ Remember.] This is one of the scenes to which may be promised a lasting commendation. Art could add little to its perfection; no change in dramattick taste can injure it; and time itself can substract nothing from its beauties. STEEVENS.

¹ For England, cousin:] The old copy—

“For England, cousin, go:”

I have omitted the last useless and redundant word, which the eye of the compositor seems to have caught from the preceding hemistich. STEEVENS.

King John, after he had taken Arthur prisoner, sent him to the town of Falaise, in Normandy, under the care of Hubert, his Chamberlain; from whence he was afterwards removed to Rouen, and delivered to the custody of Robert de Veypont. Here he was secretly put to death. MALONE.

² A whole ARMADO —] This similitude, as little as it makes for the purpose in hand, was, I do not question, a very taking one when the play was first represented; which was a winter or two at most after the Spanish invasion in 1588. It was in reference likewise to that glorious period that Shakspeare concludes his play in that triumphant manner:

“This England never did, nor never shall,

“Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,” &c.

Is scatter'd and disjoin'd from fellowship.

PAND. Courage and comfort! all shall yet go well.

K. PHI. What can go well, when we have run so ill?

Are we not beaten? Is not Angiers lost?

Arthur ta'en prisoner? divers dear friends slain?

And bloody England into England gone,

O'erbearing interruption, spite of France?

LEW. What he hath won, that hath he fortified:
So hot a speed with such advice dispos'd,
Such temperate order in so fierce a cause⁴,
Doth want example: Who hath read, or heard,
Of any kindred action like to this?

K. PHI. Well could I bear that England had this
praise,
So we could find some pattern of our shame.

But the whole play abounds with touches relative to the then posture of affairs. *WARBURTON.*

This play, so far as I can discover, was not played till a long time after the defeat of the *armado*. The old play, I think, wants this simile. The commentator should not have affirmed what he can only guess. *JOHNSON.*

Armado is a Spanish word signifying a *fleet of war*. The *armado* in 1588 was called so by way of distinction. *STEEVENS.*

³ — of CONVICTED sail —] Overpowered, baffled, destroyed. To *convict* and to *convince* were in our author's time synonymous. See *Minsheu's Dictionary*, 1617: "To *convict*, or convince, a Lat. *convictus*, overcome." So, in *Macbeth*:

" — their malady *convinces*

" The great assay of art."

Mr. Pope, who ejected from the text almost every word that he did not understand, reads—*collected* sail; and the change was too hastily adopted by the subsequent editors.

See also *Florio's Italian Dictionary*, 1598: "*Convitto*. Vanquished, *convicted*, convinced." *MALONE.*

⁴ — in so fierce a CAUSE,] We should read *course*, i. e. *march*. The Oxford editor condescends to this emendation.

WARBURTON.

Change is needless. A *fierce cause* is a cause conducted with precipitation. "*Fierce* wretchedness," in *Timon*, is, *hasty, sudden misery*. *STEEVENS.*

Enter CONSTANCE.

Look, who comes here ! a grave unto a soul ;
 Holding the eternal spirit, against her will,
 In the vile prison of afflicted breath^s :—
 I pr'ythee, lady, go away with me.

^s — a grave unto a soul ;

Holding the eternal spirit, against her will,

In the vile prison of afflicted BREATH:] I think we should read *earth*. The passage seems to have been copied from Sir Thomas More: "If the body be to the *soule* a *prison*, how strait a prison maketh he the body, that stuffeth it with *riff-raff*, that the *soule* can have no room to stirre itself—but is, as it were, enclosed not in a prison, but in a *grave*." FARMER.

There is surely no need of change. "The vile prison of afflicted breath," is the body, the prison in which the *distressed soul* is confined.

We have the same image in King Henry VI. Part III. :

"Now my *soul's* palace is become her *prison*."

Again, more appositely, in his Rape of Lucrece :

"Even here she sheathed in her harmless breast

"A harmful knife, that thence her soul unsheath'd ;

"That blow did bail it from the deep unrest

"Of that polluted *prison* where it *breath'd*."

Again, in Sir John Davies's Nosce Teipsum :

"Yet in the *body's prison* so she lies,

"As through the body's windows she must look."

MALONE.

Perhaps the old reading is justifiable. So, in Measure for Measure :

"To be *imprison'd* in the viewless *winds*." STEEVENS.

It appears, from the amendment proposed by Farmer, and by the quotation adduced by Steevens in support of the old reading, that they both consider this passage in the same light, and suppose that King Philip intended to say, "that the breath was the prison of the soul ;" but I think they have mistaken the sense of it ; and that by "the vile prison of afflicted breath," he means the same vile prison in which the breath is confined ; that is, the body.

In the second scene of the fourth Act, King John says to Hubert, speaking of what passed in his own mind :

"Nay, in the body of this fleshly land,

"This kingdom, this *confine* of blood and breath,

"Hostility and civil tumult reign."

And Hubert says, in the following scene :

CONST. Lo, now ! now see the issue of your peace !

K. PHIL. Patience, good lady ! comfort, gentle Constance !

CONST. No, I defy⁶ all counsel, all redress,
But that which ends all counsel, true redress,
Death, death :—O amiable lovely death !
Thou odoriferous stench ! sound rottenness !
Arise forth from the couch of lasting night,
Thou hate and terror to prosperity,
And I will kiss thy détestable bones ;
And put my eye-balls in thy vaulty brows ;
And ring these fingers with thy household worms ;
And stop this gap of breath⁷ with fulsome dust,
And be a carrion monster like thyself :
Come, grin on me ; and I will think thou smil'st,
And buss thee as thy wife⁸ ! Misery's love⁹,
O, come to me !

“ If I, in act, consent, or sin of thought,

“ Be guilty of the stealing that sweet breath

“ Which was *embounded* in this beauteous clay,

“ May hell want pains enough to torture me ! ”

It is evident that, in this last passage, the breath is considered as *embounded* in the body ; but I will not venture to assert that the same inference may with equal certainty be drawn from the former. M. MASON.

⁶ No, I DEFY, &c.] To *defy* anciently signified to *refuse*. So, in *Romeo and Juliet* :

“ I do *defy* thy commiseration.” STEEVENS.

⁷ And stop this GAP OF BREATH —] The *gap of breath* is the mouth ; the outlet from whence the breath issues. MALONE.

⁸ And BUSS thee as thy wife !] Thus the old copy. The word *buss*, however, being now only used in vulgar language, our modern editors have exchanged it for *kiss*. The former is used by Drayton, in the third canto of his *Barons' Wars*, where Queen Isabel says :

“ And we by signs sent many a secret *buss*.”

Again, in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, b. iii. c. x. :

“ But every satyre first did give a *busse*

“ To Hellenore ; so *busses* did abound.”

Again, Stanyhurst, the translator of Virgil, 1582, renders

K. PHIL. O fair affliction, peace.

CONST. No, no, I will not, having breath to cry :—

O, that my tongue were in the thunder's mouth !
Then with a passion would I shake the world ;
And rouse from sleep that fell anatomy,
Which cannot hear a lady's feeble voice,
Which scorns a modern invocation ¹.

PAND. Lady, you utter madness, and not sorrow.

CONST. Thou art not holy ² to belie me so ;
I am not mad : this hair I tear, is mine ;
My name is Constance ; I was Geoffrey's wife ;
Young Arthur is my son, and he is lost :
I am not mad ;—I would to heaven, I were !
For then, 'tis like I should forget myself :
O, if I could, what grief should I forget !—
Preach some philosophy to make me mad,
And thou shalt be canoniz'd, cardinal ;
For, being not mad, but sensible of grief,
My reasonable part produces reason
How I may be deliver'd of these woes,

— *oscula libavit natæ*

Bust his pritty parrat prating, &c. STEEVENS.

⁹ Misery's LOVE, &c.] Thou, death, who art *courted* by *misery* to come to his relief, O come to me. So before :

"Thou *hate* and terror to *prosperity*." MALONE.

¹ — MODERN invocation.] It is hard to say what Shakspeare means by *modern* : it is not opposed to *ancient*. In All's Well That Ends Well, speaking of a girl in contempt, he uses this word : "her *modern* grace." It apparently means something *slight* and *inconsiderable*. JOHNSON.

Modern, is *trite*, *ordinary*, *common*.

So, in As You Like It :

"Full of wise saws, and *modern* instances."

Again, in Antony and Cleopatra :

"As we greet *modern* friends withal." STEEVENS.

² Thou art NOT holy —] The word *not*, which is not in the old copy, (evidently omitted by the carelessness of the transcriber or compositor,) was inserted in the fourth folio. MALONE.

Perhaps our author wrote :

"Thou art *unholy*," &c. STEEVENS.

And teaches me to kill or hang myself :
 If I were mad, I should forget my son ;
 Or madly think, a babe of clouts were he :
 I am not mad ; too well, too well I feel
 The different plague of each calamity.

K. PHI. Bind up those tresses³ : O, what love I
 note

In the fair multitude of those her hairs !
 Where but by chance a silver drop hath fallen,
 Even to that drop ten thousand wiry friends⁴
 Do glew themselves in sociable grief ;
 Like true, inseparable, faithful loves,
 Sticking together in calamity.

CONST. To England, if you will⁵.

³ Bind up those tresses :] It was necessary that Constance should be interrupted, because a passion so violent cannot be borne long. I wish the following speeches had been equally happy ; but they only serve to show how difficult it is to maintain the pathetick long. JOHNSON.

⁴ —wiry FRIENDS —] The old copy reads—*wiry* fiends. *Wiry* is an adjective used by Heywood, in his *Silver Age*, 1613 :

“ My vassal furies, with their *wiery* strings,

“ Shall lash thee hence.” STEEVENS.

Mr. Pope made the emendation. MALONE.

Fiends is obviously a typographical error. As the epithet *wiry* is here attributed to *hair* ; so, in another description, the *hair* of Apollo supplies the office of *wire*. In The Instructions to the Commissioners for the Choice of a Wife for Prince Arthur, it is directed “ to note the eye-browes ” of the young Queen of Naples, (who, after the death of Arthur, was married to Henry VIII. and divorced by him for the sake of Anna Bulloyn). They answer, “ Her browes are of a browne heare, very small, like a *wyre of heare*.” Thus also, Gascoigne :

“ First for her head, her hairs were not of gold,

“ But of some other mettall farre more fine,

“ Whereof each crinet seemed to behold,

“ Like glist’ring *wyars* against the sunne that shine.”

HENLEY.

⁵ To England, if you will.] Neither the French king nor Pandulph has said a word of England since the entry of Constance. Perhaps, therefore, in despair, she means to address the absent King John : “ Take my son to England, if you will ; ”

K. PHIL.

Bind up your hairs.

CONST. Yes, that I will ; And wherefore will I
do it ?

I tore them from their bonds ; and cried aloud,
O that these hands could so redeem my son,
As they have given these hairs their liberty !
 But now I envy at their liberty,
 And will again commit them to their bonds,
 Because my poor child is a prisoner.—
 And, father cardinal, I have heard you say,
 That we shall see and know our friends in heaven :
 If that be true, I shall see my boy again ;
 For, since the birth of Cain, the first male child,
 To him that did but yesterday suspire⁶,
 There was not such a gracious creature born⁷.

now that he is in your power, I have no prospect of seeing him again. It is, therefore, of no consequence to me where he is.

MALONE.

⁶ — but yesterday SUSPIRE,] *To suspire*, in Shakspeare, I believe, only means to *breathe*. So, in King Henry IV. Part II. :

“ Did he *suspire*, that light and weightless down

“ Perforce must move.”

Again, in a Copy of Verses prefixed to Thomas Powell's *Pas-
 sionate Poet*, 1601 :

“ Beleeve it, I *suspire* no fresher aire,

“ Than are my hopes of thee, and they stand faire.”

STEEVENS.

⁷ — a GRACIOUS creature born.] *Gracious*, i. e. *graceful*. So, in Albion's Triumph, a Masque, 1631 : “ — on the which (*the freeze*) were festoons of several fruits in their natural colours, on which, in *gracious* postures, lay children sleeping.”

Again, in the same piece : “ — they stood about him, not in set ranks, but in several *gracious* postures.”

Again, in Chapman's version of the eighteenth Iliad :

“ — then tumbled round, and tore,

“ His *gracious* curls.” STEEVENS.

A passage quoted by Mr. Steevens from Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604, induces me to think that *gracious* likewise, in our author's time, included the idea of *beauty* : “ — he is the most exquisite in forging of veins, spright'ning of eyes,—sleeking of skinnes, blushing of cheeks,—blanching and bleaching of teeth, that ever made an ould lady *gracious* by torch-light.” MALONE.

But now will canker sorrow eat my bud,
 And chase the native beauty from his cheek,
 And he will look as hollow as a ghost ;
 As dim and meagre as an ague's fit ;
 And so he'll die ; and, rising so again,
 When I shall meet him in the court of heaven
 I shall not know him : therefore never, never
 Must I behold my pretty Arthur more.

PAND. You hold too heinous a respect of grief.

CONST. He talks to me, that never had a son⁸.

K. PHI. You are as fond of grief, as of your child.

CONST. Grief fills the room up of my absent child⁹;

Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me ;
 Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,
 Remembers me of all his gracious parts,
 Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form ;
 Then, have I reason to be fond of grief.
 Fare you well : had you such a loss as I,
 I could give better comfort¹ than you do.—
 I will not keep this form upon my head,

[*Tearing off her head-dress.*]

⁸ He talks to me, that never had a son.] To the same purpose Macduff observes—

“ He has no children.”

This thought occurs also in King Henry VI. Part III.

STEEVENS.

⁹ Grief fills the room up of my absent child,]

Perfruitur lachrymis, et amat pro conjuge luctum.

Lucan, lib. ix.

Maynard, a French poet, has the same thought :

Qui me console, excite ma colere,

Et le repos est un bien que je crains :

Mon deuil me plaît, et me doit toujours plaire,

Il me tient lieu de celle que je plains. MALONE.

¹ — had you such a loss as I,

I could give better comfort —] This is a sentiment which great sorrow always dictates. Whoever cannot help himself casts his eyes on others for assistance, and often mistakes their inability for coldness. JOHNSON.

When there is such disorder in my wit.
 O lord ! my boy, my Arthur, my fair son !
 My life, my joy, my food, my all the world !
 My widow-comfort, and my sorrow's cure ! [*Exit.*
K. PHI. I fear some outrage, and I'll follow her.
 [*Exit.*

LEW. There's nothing in this world, can make
 me joy² :

Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale³,
 Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man ;
 And bitter shame hath spoil'd the sweet words
 taste⁴,

That it yields naught, but shame, and bitterness.

PAND. Before the curing of a strong disease,
 Even in the instant of repair and health,
 The fit is strongest ; evils, that take leave,
 On their departure most of all show evil :

² There's nothing in this, &c.] The young prince feels his defeat with more sensibility than his father. Shame operates most strongly in the earlier years ; and when can disgrace be less welcome than when a man is going to his bride ? *JOHNSON.*

³ Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale,] Our author here, and in another play, seems to have had the 90th Psalm in his thoughts. " For when thou art angry, all our days are gone, we bring our years to an end, as it were a tale that is told." So again, in *Macbeth* :

" Life's but a walking shadow ;—

" ————— it is a tale

" Told by an ideot, full of sound and fury,

" Signifying nothing." *MALONE.*

⁴ — the sweet words taste,] The *sweet word* is *life* ; which, says the speaker, is no longer sweet, yielding now nothing but shame and bitterness. Mr. Pope, with some plausibility, but certainly without necessity, reads—" the sweet world's taste."

MALONE.

I prefer Mr. Pope's reading, which is sufficiently justified by the following passage in *Hamlet* :

" How weary, *stale*, *flat* and unprofitable

" Seem to me all the uses of this world !"

Our present rage for *restoration* from ancient copies may induce some of our readers to exclaim, with Virgil's Shepherd :

Claudite jam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt. *STEEVENS.*

What have you lost by losing of this day ?

LEW. All days of glory, joy, and happiness.

PAND. If you have won it, certainly, you had.
No, no : when fortune means to men most good,
She looks upon them with a threatening eye.

'Tis strange, to think how much king John hath
lost

In this which he accounts so clearly won :

Are not you griev'd, that Arthur is his prisoner ?

LEW. As heartily, as he is glad he hath him.

PAND. Your mind is all as youthful as your
blood.

Now hear me speak, with a prophetick spirit ;
For even the breath of what I mean to speak
Shall blow each dust, each straw, each little rub,
Out of the path which shall directly lead
Thy foot to England's throne ; and, therefore,
mark.

John hath seiz'd Arthur ; and it cannot be,
That, whiles warm life plays in that infant's veins,
The misplac'd John should entertain an hour,
One minute, nay, one quiet breath of rest :
A scepter, snatch'd with an unruly hand,
Must be as boisterously maintain'd as gain'd :
And he, that stands upon a slippery place,
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up :
That John may stand, then Arthur needs must fall ;
So be it, for it cannot be but so.

LEW. But what shall I gain by young Arthur's
fall ?

PAND. You, in the right of lady Blanch your
wife,
May then make all the claim that Arthur did.

LEW. And lose it, life and all, as Arthur did.

PAND. How green you are, and fresh in this old
world⁵ !

⁵ How green, &c.] Hall, in his Chronicle of Richard III.

John lays you plots⁶; the times conspire with you:
 For he, that steeps his safety in true blood⁷,
 Shall find but bloody safety, and untrue.
 This act, so evilly born, shall cool the hearts
 Of all his people, and freeze up their zeal;
 That none so small advantage shall step forth,
 To check his reign, but they will cherish it:
 No natural exhalation in the sky,
 No scape of nature⁸, no distemper'd day,
 No common wind, no custom'd event,
 But they will pluck away his natural cause,
 And call them meteors, prodigies, and signs,
 Abortives, présages, and tongues of heaven,
 Plainly denouncing vengeance upon John.

LEW. May be, he will not touch young Arthur's
 life,
 But hold himself safe in his prisonment.

RAND. O, sir, when he shall hear of your ap-
 proach,

says, "— what neede in that *grene worlde* the protector had,"
 &c. HENDERSON.

⁶ John lays YOU plots;] That is, lays plots, which must be
 serviceable to you. Perhaps our author wrote—*your* plots. John
 is doing your business. MALONE.

The old reading is undoubtedly the true one. A similar phrase
 occurs in The First Part of King Henry VI.:

"He writes *me* here,—that," &c.

Again, in the Second Part of the same play: "He would have
 carried *you* a fore-hand shaft," &c. STEEVENS.

⁷ — true blood,] The blood of him that has the *just* claim.

JOHNSON.

The expression seems to mean no more than *innocent blood* in
 general. RITSON.

⁸ — NO SCAPE of nature,] The old copy reads—No *scope*,
 &c. STEEVENS.

It was corrected by Mr. Pope. The word *abortives*, in the
 latter part of this speech, referring apparently to these *scapes of*
nature, confirms the emendation that has been made. MALONE.

The author very finely calls a *monstrous birth*, an *escape of*
nature, as if it were produced while she was busy elsewhere, or
 intent upon some other thing. WAREURTON.

If that young Arthur be not gone already,
 Even at that news he dies ; and then the hearts
 Of all his people shall revolt from him,
 And kiss the lips of unacquainted change ;
 And pick strong matter of revolt, and wrath,
 Out of the bloody fingers' ends of John.
 Methinks, I see this hurly all on foot ;
 And, O, what better matter breeds for you,
 Than I have nam'd ⁹ !—The bastard Faulconbridge
 Is now in England, ransacking the church,
 Offending charity : If but a dozen French
 Were there in arms, they would be as a call ¹
 To train ten thousand English to their side ;
 Or, as a little snow ², tumbled about,
 Anon becomes a mountain. O noble Dauphin,
 Go with me to the king : 'Tis wonderful,
 What may be wrought out of their discontent :
 Now that their souls are topfull of offence,
 For England go ; I will whet on the king.

LEIF. Strong reasons make strange actions ³ :

Let us go ;

If you say, ay, the king will not say, no. [*Exeunt.*

⁹ And, O, what better matter breeds for you,

Than I have nam'd !] I believe we should read—*lo* ! instead of *O*. M. MASON.

¹ —they would be as a call—] The image is taken from the manner in which birds are sometimes caught ; one being placed for the purpose of drawing others to the net, by his note or *call*. MALONE.

² Or, as a little snow,] Bacon, in his History of Henry VII. speaking of Simnel's march, observes, that "their *snow-ball* did not gather as it went." JOHNSON.

³ —STRANGE actions:] Thus the old copy. The editor of the second folio, for *strange*, substituted *strong* ; and the two words so nearly resemble each other that they might certainly have been easily confounded. But, in the present instance, I see no reason for departing from the reading of the original copy, which is perfectly intelligible. MALONE.

The repetition, in the second folio, is perfectly in our author's manner, and is countenanced by the following passage in King Henry V. :

ACT IV. SCENE I.

Northampton⁴. A Room in the Castle.

Enter HUBERT and Two Attendants.

HUB. Heat me these irons hot ; and, look thou stand

Within the arras : when I strike my foot
Upon the bosom of the ground, rush forth :
And bind the boy, which you shall find with me,
Fast to the chair : be heedful : hence, and watch.

1 ATTEND. I hope, your warrant will bear out the deed.

HUB. Uncleanly scruples ! Fear not you : look to't.— [*Exeunt Attendants.*

Young lad, come forth ; I have to say with you.

Enter ARTHUR.

ARTH. Good morrow, Hubert.

HUB. Good morrow, little prince.

ARTH. As little prince (having so great a title To be more prince,) as may be.—You are sad.

HUB. Indeed, I have been merrier.

ARTH. Mercy on me !

“ Think we King Harry *strong*,

“ And, princes, look, you *strongly* arm to meet him.”

STEEVENS.

⁴ Northampton.] The fact is, as has been already stated, that Arthur was first confined at Falaise, and afterwards at Rouen, in Normandy, where he was put to death.—Our author has deviated, in this particular, from the history, and brought King John's nephew to England ; but there is no circumstance, either in the original play, or in this of Shakspeare, to point out the particular castle in which he is supposed to be confined. The castle of Northampton has been mentioned, in some modern editions, as the place, merely because, in the first Act, King John *seems* to have been in that town. In the old copy there is no where any notice of place. MALONE.

Methinks, no body should be sad but I :
 Yet, I remember, when I was in France,
 Young gentlemen would be as sad as night,
 Only for wantonness⁵. By my christendom⁶,

⁵ Young gentlemen, &c.] It should seem that this affectation had found its way into England, as it is ridiculed by Ben Jonson, in the character of Master Stephen, in *Every Man in his Humour*, 1601. Again, in *Questions concernyng Conie-hood, and the Nature of the Conic*, &c. 1595: "That conie-hood which proceeds of *melauncholy*, is, when in feastings appointed for merriment, this kind of conie-man sits like Mopsus or Corydon, blockish, never laughing, never speaking, but so bearishlie as if he would devour all the companie; which he doth to this end, that the guests might mutter how this his deep *melauncholy* argueth great learning in him, and an intendment to most weighty affaires and heavenlie speculations."

Again, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Queen of Corinth*, Onos says :

"Come let's be *melauncholy*."

Again, in Lyly's *Midas*, 1592: "*Melauncholy*! is *melauncholy* a word for a barber's mouth? Thou should'st say, heavy, dull, and doltish: *melauncholy* is the crest of courtiers, and now every base companion, &c. says he is *melauncholy*."

Again, in *The Life and Death of the Lord Cromwell*, 1613:

"My nobility is wonderful *melauncholy*.—"

"Is it not most gentleman-like to be *melauncholy*?"

STEEVENS.

Lyly, in his *Midas*, ridicules the affectation of *melauncholy*: "Now every base companion, being in his *nuble fubles*, says, he is *melauncholy*.—Thou should'st say thou art *lumpish*. If thou encroach on our *courtly* terms, wee'll trounce thee." FARMER.

I doubt whether our author had any authority for attributing this species of affectation to the French. He generally ascribes the manners of England to all other countries. MALONE.

⁶ — By my CHRISTENDOM.] This word is used, both here and in *All's Well That Ends Well*, for *baptism*, or rather the *baptismal name* :

"—— with a world

"Of pretty, fond adoptious *christendoms*,

"That blinking Cupid gossips."

Nor is this use of the word peculiar to our author. Lyly, his predecessor, has employed the word in the same way: "Concerning the body, as there is no gentlewoman so curious to have him in print, so there is no one so careless to have him a wretch,—only his right shape to show him a man, his *christendome* to prove

So I were out of prison, and kept sheep,
 I would be as merry as the day is long;
 And so I would be here, but that I doubt
 My uncle practises more harm to me:
 He is afraid of me, and I of him:
 Is it my fault that I was Geoffrey's son?
 No, indeed, is't not; And I would to heaven,
 I were your son, so you would love me, Hubert.

HUB. If I talk to him, with his innocent prate
 He will awake my mercy, which lies dead:
 Therefore I will be sudden, and dispatch. [*Aside.*]

ARTH. Are you sick, Hubert? you look pale to-
 day:
 In sooth, I would you were a little sick;
 That I might sit all night, and watch with you:
 I warrant, I love you more than you do me.

HUB. His words do take possession of my bo-
 som.—

Read here, young Arthur. [*Showing a paper.*]
 How now, foolish rheum! [*Aside.*]

Turning despiteous torture out of door!
 I must be brief; lest resolution drop
 Out at mine eyes, in tender womanish tears.—
 Can you not read it? is it not fair writ?

ARTH. Too fairly, Hubert, for so foul effect:
 Must you with hot irons burn out both mine eyes?

HUB. Young boy, I must.

ARTH. And will you?

HUB. And I will.

ARTH. Have you the heart? When your head
 did but ake,
 I knit my handkerchief about your brows,
 (The best I had, a princess wrought it me,)
 And I did never ask it you again:
 And with my hand at midnight held your head;

And, like the watchful minutes to the hour,
Still and anon cheer'd up the heavy time ;
Saying, What lack you ? and, Where lies your
grief ?

Or, What good love may I perform for you ?
Many a poor man's son would have lain still,
And ne'er have spoke a loving word to you ;
But you at your sick service had a prince.
Nay, you may think, my love was crafty love,
And call it, cunning ; Do, an if you will :
If heaven be pleas'd that you will use me ill,
Why, then you must.—Will you put out mine
eyes ?

These eyes, that never did, nor never shall,
So much as frown on you ?

HUB. I have sworn to do it ;
And with hot irons must I burn them out.

ARTH. Ah, none, but in this iron age, would do
it !

The iron of itself, though heat red-hot⁷,
Approaching near these eyes, would drink my tears,
And quench his fiery indignation⁸,

⁷ — though HEAT red-hot,] The participle *heat*, though now obsolete, was in use in our author's time. See *Twelfth-Night*, vol. xi. p. 342, n. 8.

So, in the sacred writings : “ He commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be *heat*.” *Dan.* iii. 19. MALONE.

Again, in Chapman's version of the 20th Iliad :

“ — but when blowes, sent from his fiery hand

“ (Thrice *heat* by slaughter of his friend)—.”

Again, in the same translator's version of the 19th book of the *Odyssey* :

“ And therein bath'd, being temperately *heat*,

“ Her sovereign's feet.” STEEVENS.

⁸ And quench HIS FIERY INDIGNATION,] The old copy—*this* fiery indignation. This phrase is from The New Testament, Heb. x. 27 : “ — a certain fearful looking-for of judgment, and *fiery indignation*—.” STEEVENS.

We should read either “ *its* fiery,” or “ *his* fiery indignation.”

Even in the matter of mine innocence :
 Nay, after that, consume away in rust,
 But for containing fire to harm mine eye.
 Are you more stubborn-hard than hammer'd iron ?
 An if an angel should have come to me,
 And told me, Hubert should put out mine eyes,
 I would not have believ'd him ; no tongue, but
 Hubert's ?

HUB. Come forth. [*Stamps.*]

Re-enter Attendants, with Cord, Irons, &c.

Do as I bid you do.

ARTH. O, save me, Hubert, save me ! my eyes
 are out,

Even with the fierce looks of these bloody men.

HUB. Give me the iron, I say, and bind him
 here.

ARTH. Alas, what need you be so boist'rous-
 rough ?

I will not struggle, I will stand stone-still.

For heaven's sake, Hubert, let me not be bound !

The late reading was probably an error of the press. *His* is most in Shakspeare's style. M. MASON.

By "*this* fiery indignation," however, he might mean,—'the indignation *thus* produced by the iron being made red-hot for such an inhuman purpose.' MALONE.

² I would not have believ'd no tongue, but Hubert's.] The old copy, and some of our modern editors, read :

" I would not have believ'd *him* ; no tongue but Hubert's."

The truth is, that the transcriber, not understanding the power of the two negatives *not* and *no*, (which are usually employed, not to affirm, but to deny more forcibly,) intruded the redundant pronoun *him*. As *You Like It*, affords an instance of the phraseology I have defended :

" Nor, I am sure, there is *no* force in eyes

" That can do hurt." STEEVENS.

Mr. Steevens's former note on this passage is worth preservation. " Shakspeare probably meant this line to be broken off imperfectly ; thus :

" I would not have believ'd him ; no tongue but Hubert's—."

The old reading is, however, sense." BOSWELL.

Nay, hear me, Hubert ! drive these men away,
 And I will sit as quiet as a lamb ;
 I will not stir, nor wince, nor speak a word,
 Nor look upon the iron angrily :
 Thrust but these men away, and I'll forgive you,
 Whatever torment you do put me to.

HUB. Go, stand within ; let me alone with him.

I ATTEND. I am best pleas'd to be from such a deed. [*Exeunt Attendants.*]

ARTH. Alas ! I then have chid away my friend ;
 He hath a stern look, but a gentle heart :—
 Let him come back, that his compassion may
 Give life to yours.

HUB. Come, boy, prepare yourself.

ARTH. Is there no remedy ?

HUB. None, but to lose your eyes.

ARTH. O heaven !—that there were but a mote
 in yours ¹,

A grain, a dust, a gnat, a wand'ring hair,
 Any annoyance in that precious sense !
 Then, feeling what small things are boist'rous there,
 Your vile intent must needs seem horrible.

HUB. Is this your promise ? go to, hold your tongue.

ARTH. Hubert, the utterance of a brace of tongues

Must needs want pleading for a pair of eyes :
 Let me not hold my tongue ; let me not, Hubert !

¹ — a MOTE in yours,] The old copy reads *moth*.

Moth was merely the old spelling of *mote*. In the passage quoted from *Hamlet*, the word is spelt *moth* in the original copy, as it is here. So also, in the preface to Lodge's *Incaruate Devils* of the Age, 4to. 1596 : " — they are in the aire, like *atomi* in sole, *mothes* in the sonne. See also Florio's Italian Dict. 1598 : "Festucco.—A *moth*, a little beam."

So, in *Hamlet* :

"A *mote* it is, to trouble the mind's eye."

A *mote* is a small particle of *straw* or *chaff*. It is likewise used by old writers for an *atom*. MALONE.

Or, Hubert, if you will, cut out my tongue²,
 So I may keep mine eyes ; O, spare mine eyes ;
 Though to no use, but still to look on you !
 Lo, by my troth, the instrument is cold,
 And would not harm me.

HUB. I can heat it, boy.

ARTH. No, in good sooth ; the fire is dead with
 grief³,

Being create for comfort, to be us'd
 In undeserv'd extremes : See else yourself ;
 There is no malice in this burning coal⁴ ;
 The breath of heaven hath blown his spirit out,
 And strew'd repentant ashes on his head.

HUB. But with my breath I can revive it, boy.

ARTH. And if you do, you will but make it
 blush,

And glow with shame of your proceedings, Hubert :
 Nay, it, perchance, will sparkle in your eyes ;
 And, like a dog that is compell'd to fight,
 Snatch at his master that doth tarre him on⁵.

² Or, Hubert, if you will, cut out my tongue,] This is according to nature. We imagine no evil so great as that which is near us. JOHNSON.

³ — the fire is dead with GRIEF, &c.] The sense is : *the fire, being created not to hurt, but to comfort, is dead with grief for finding itself used in acts of cruelty, which, being innocent, I have not deserved.* JOHNSON.

⁴ There is no malice in this burning coal ;] Dr. Grey says, that " no malice in a burning coal " is certainly absurd, and that we should read :

" There is no malice burning in this coal." STEEVENS.

Dr. Grey's remark on this passage is an hypercriticism. The coal was still burning, for Hubert says, " He could revive it with his breath : " but it had lost, for a time, its power of injuring, by the abatement of its heat. M. MASON.

Yet in defence of Dr. Grey's remark it may be said, that Arthur imagined " that the coal was no longer burning," although Hubert tells him afterwards " that it was not so far extinguished, but that he could revive it with his breath." BOSWELL.

⁵ — TARRE him on.] i.e. stimulate, set him on : Supposed to be derived from ταραττω, excito. The word occurs again in Ham-

All things, that you should use to do me wrong,
Deny their office : only you do lack
That mercy, which fierce fire, and iron, extends,
Creatures of note, for mercy-lacking uses.

HUB. Well, see to live⁶ ; I will not touch thine
eyes

For all the treasure that thine uncle owes :
Yet am I sworn, and I did purpose, boy,
With this same very iron to burn them out.

ARTH. O, now you look like Hubert ! all this
while

You were disguised.

HUB. Peace : no more. Adieu ;
Your uncle must not know but you are dead :
I'll fill these dogged spies with false reports.
And, pretty child, sleep doubtless, and secure,
That Hubert, for the wealth of all the world,
Will not offend thee.

ARTH. O heaven !—I thank you, Hubert.

HUB. Silence ; no more : Go closely in with me⁷ ;
Much danger do I undergo for thee. [*Exeunt.*]

let : “ — and the nation holds it no sin to *tarre* them on to controversy.” Again, in *Troilus and Cressida* :

“ Pride alone must *tarre* the mastiffs on.” STEEVENS.

Mr. Horne Tooke derives it from *Tygar*. A. S. *exacerbare*, irritare. BOSWELL.

⁶ — SEE to live ;] “ See to live ” means only—‘ Continue to enjoy the means of life.’ STEEVENS.

I believe the author meant—“ Well, live, and live with the means of seeing ; ” that is, ‘ with your eyes uninjured.’ MALONE.

⁷ — Go CLOSELY in with me ;] i. e. secretly, privately. So, in *Albumazar*, 1610, Act III. Sc. I. :

“ I'll entertain him here ; mean while, steal you

“ *Closely* into the room,” &c.

Again, in *The Atheist's Tragedy*, 1612, Act IV. Sc. I. :

“ Enter Frisco *closely*.”

Again, in *Sir Henry Wotton's Parallel* : “ That when he was free from restraint, he should *closely* take an out lodging at Greenwich.” REED.

SCENE II.

The Same. A Room of State in the Palace.

Enter King JOHN, crowned; PEMBROKE, SALISBURY, and other Lords. The King takes his State.

K. JOHN. Here once again we sit, once again
crown'd ⁸,
And look'd upon, I hope, with cheerful eyes.

PEM. This once again, but that your highness
pleas'd,

Was once superfluous ⁹: you were crown'd before,
And that high royalty was ne'er pluck'd off;
The faiths of men ne'er stained with revolt;
Fresh expectation troubled not the land,
With any long'd-for change, or better state.

SAL. Therefore, to be possess'd with double
pomp,
To guard a title that was rich before ¹,

⁸ — once AGAIN crown'd,] Old copy—*against*. Corrected in the fourth folio. MALONE.

⁹ This once again,——

Was once superfluous:] This one time more was one time more than enough. JOHNSON.

It should be remembered, that King John was at present crowned for the *fourth time*. STEEVENS.

John's second coronation was at Canterbury, in the year 1201. He was crowned a third time, at the same place, after the murder of his nephew, in April, 1202; probably with a view of confirming his title to the throne, his competitor no longer standing in his way. MALONE.

¹ To guard a title that was rich before,] To *guard*, is to *fringe*.
JOHNSON.

Rather, to ornament with a border, or lace.

See *Measure for Measure*, vol. ix. p. 105, n. 6. MALONE.

So, in *The Merchant of Venice*:

“—— give him a livery

“More guarded than his fellows.” STEEVENS.

To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
 To throw a perfume on the violet,
 To smooth the ice, or add another hue
 Unto the rainbow, or with taper-light
 To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish,
 Is wasteful, and ridiculous excess.

PEM. But that your royal pleasure must be done,
 This act is as an ancient tale new told²;
 And, in the last repeating, troublesome,
 Being urged at a time unseasonable.

SAL. In this, the antique and well-noted face
 Of plain old form is much disfigured:
 And, like a shifted wind unto a sail,
 It makes the course of thoughts to fetch about;
 Startles and frights consideration;
 Makes sound opinion sick, and truth suspected,
 For putting on so new a fashion'd robe.

PEM. When workmen strive to do better than
 well,
 They do confound their skill in covetousness³:
 And, oftentimes, excusing of a fault,
 Doth make the fault the worse by the excuse;
 As patches, set upon a little breach,

² — as an ancient tale new told;] Had Shakspeare been a diligent examiner of his own compositions, he would not so soon have repeated an idea which he had first put into the mouth of the Dauphin:

“Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale,
 “Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man.”

Mr. Malone has a remark to the same tendency. *STEEVENS.*

³ They do confound their skill in COVETOUSNESS:] i. e. not by their avarice, but in an eager emulation, an intense desire of excelling, as in *Henry V.*:

“But if it be a sin to covet honour,
 “I am the most offending soul alive.” *THEOBALD.*

So, in our author's 103d Sonnet:

“Were it not sinful then, striving to mend,
 “To mar the subject that before was well?”

Again, in *King Lear*:

“Striving to better, oft we mar what's well.” *MALONE.*

Discredit more in hiding of the fault ⁴,
Than did the fault before it was so patch'd.

SAL. To this effect, before you were new-crown'd,
We breath'd our counsel : but it pleas'd your high-
ness

To overbear it ; and we are all well pleas'd ;
Since all and every part of what we would ⁵,
Doth make a stand at what your highness will.

K. JOHN. Some reasons of this double corona-
tion

I have possess'd you with, and think them strong ;
And more, more strong, (when lesser is my fear,)
I shall indue you with ⁶ : Mean time, but ask
What you would have reform'd, that is not well ;
And well shall you perceive, how willingly
I will both hear and grant you your requests.

PEM. Then I, (as one that am the tongue of
these,
To sound the purposes ⁷ of all their hearts,)

⁴ — in hiding of the FAULT,] *Fault* means *blemish*.

STEEVENS.

⁵ Since all and every part of what we would,] Since the whole
and each particular part of our wishes, &c. MALONE.

⁶ Some reasons of this double coronation

I have possess'd you with, and think them strong ;
And more, more strong, (WHEN lesser is my fear,)

I shall indue you with :] Mr. Theobald reads—" (*the lesser is my fear*)" which, in the following note, Dr. Johnson has at-
tempted to explain. STEEVENS.

I have told you some reasons, in my opinion *strong*, and shall
tell more, *yet stronger* ; for the stronger my reasons are, the *less*
is my fear of your disapprobation. This seems to be the meaning.

JOHNSON.

" And more, more strong, (*when lesser is my fear*,)

" I shall indue you with : " The first folio reads :

" — (*then lesser is my fear*). "

The true reading is obvious enough :

" — (*when lesser is my fear*). " TYRWHITT.

I have done this emendation the justice to place it in the text.

STEEVENS.

⁷ To sound the purposes —] To *declare*, to *publish* the desires
of all those. JOHNSON.

Both for myself and them, (but, chief of all,
Your safety, for the which myself and them
Bend their best studies,) heartily request
The enfranchisement of Arthur; whose restraint
Doth move the murmuring lips of discontent
To break into this dangerous argument,—
If what in rest you have, in right you hold,
Why then your fears, (which, as they say, attend
The steps of wrong,) should move you to mew up
Your tender kinsman⁸, and to choke his days
With barbarous ignorance, and deny his youth
The rich advantage of good exercise⁹?

⁸ If, what in *REST* you have, in right you hold,
Why *THEN* your fears, (which, as they say, attend
The steps of wrong,) *SHOULD* move you to mew up
Your tender kinsman, &c.] Perhaps we should read:

“If, what in *wrest* you have, in right you hold—,”
i. e. if what you possess by an act of seizure or violence, &c.
So again, in this play:

“The imminent decay of *wrested* pomp.”

Wrest is a substantive used by Spenser, and by our author in
Troilus and Cressida. STEEVENS.

The emendation proposed by Mr. Steevens is its own voucher.
If *then* and *should* change places, and a mark of *interrogation* be
placed after *exercise*, the full sense of the passage will be restored.

HENLEY.

Mr. Steevens's reading of *wrest* is better than his explanation.
If adopted, the meaning must be—“If what you possess, or have
in your hand, or grasp.” RITSON.

It is evident that the words *should* and *then* have changed their
places. M. MASON.

The construction is—If you have a good title to what you now
quickly possess, why then *should* your fears move you, &c.

MALONE.

Perhaps this question is elliptically expressed, and means—

“Why then *is it that* your fears should move you,” &c.

STEEVENS.

⁹ — good exercise?] In the middle ages, the whole education
of princes and noble youths consisted in martial exercises, &c.
These could not be easily had in a prison, where mental improve-
ments might have been afforded as well as any where else; but
this sort of education never entered into the thoughts of our
active, warlike, but illiterate nobility. PERCY.

That the time's enemies may not have this
 To grace occasions, let it be our suit,
 That you have bid us ask his liberty ;
 Which for our goods we do no further ask,
 Than whereupon our weal, on your depending,
 Counts it your weal, he have his liberty.

K. JOHN. Let it be so ; I do commit his youth

Enter HUBERT.

To your direction.—Hubert, what news with you ?

PEM. This is the man should do the bloody
 deed ;

He show'd his warrant to a friend of mine :
 The image of a wicked heinous fault
 Lives in his eye ; that close aspect of his
 Does show the mood of a much-troubled breast ;
 And I do fearfully believe, 'tis done,
 What we so fear'd he had a charge to do.

SAL. The colour of the king doth come and go,
 Between his purpose and his conscience¹,

¹ Between his PURPOSE and his conscience,] Between his consciousness of guilt, and his design to conceal it by fair professions. JOHNSON.

Rather, between the criminal act that he *planned* and commanded to be executed, and the reproaches of his conscience consequent on the execution of it. So, in *Coriolanus* :

“ It is a *purpos'd* thing, and grows by plot.”

We have nearly the same expressions afterwards :

“ Nay, in the body of this fleshly land, (in John's own person)

“ Hostility, and civil tumult, reigns

“ *Between my conscience and my cousin's death.*” MALONE.

The *purpose* of the King, which Salisbury alludes to, is that of putting Arthur to death, which he considers as not yet accomplished, and therefore supposes that there might still be a conflict, in the King's mind—

“ Between his *purpose* and his conscience.”

So, when Salisbury sees the dead body of Arthur, he says—

“ It is the shameful work of Hubert's hand ;

“ The practice and the *purpose* of the king.” M. MASON.

Like heralds 'twixt two dreadful battles set² :
His passion is so ripe, it needs must break.

PEM. And, when it breaks³, I fear, will issue
thence

The foul corruption of a sweet child's death.

K. JOHN. We cannot hold mortality's strong
hand:—

Good lords, although my will to give is living,
The suit which you demand is gone and dead :
He tells us, Arthur is deceas'd to-night.

SAL. Indeed, we fear'd, his sickness was past
cure.

PEM. Indeed, we heard how near his death he
was,

Before the child himself felt he was sick :
This must be answer'd, either here, or hence.

K. JOHN. Why do you bend such solemn brows
on me ?

Think you, I bear the shears of destiny ?
Have I commandment on the pulse of life ?

SAL. It is apparent foul-play ; and 'tis shame,
That greatness should so grossly offer it :
So thrive it in your game ! and so farewell.

PEM. Stay yet, lord Salisbury ; I'll go with thee,
And find the inheritance of this poor child,
His little kingdom of a forced grave.
'That blood, which ow'd the breath of all this isle,
Three foot of it doth hold ; Bad world the while !

² Like heralds 'twixt two dreadful battles set :] But heralds are not planted, I presume, in the midst betwixt two lines of battle ; though they, and trumpets, are often sent over from party to party, to propose terms, demand a parley, &c. I have therefore ventured to read—*sent*. THEOBALD.

Set is not *fixed*, but only *placed* ; heralds must be *set* between battles, in order to be *sent* between them. JOHNSON.

³ And, when it breaks,] This is but an indelicate metaphor, taken from an imposthumated tumour. JOHNSON.

This must not be thus borne : this will break out
To all our sorrows, and ere long, I doubt.

[*Exeunt Lords.*]

K. JOHN. They burn in indignation ; I repent ;
There is no sure foundation set on blood ;
No certain life achiev'd by others' death.—

Enter a Messenger.

A fearful eye thou hast ; Where is that blood,
That I have seen inhabit in those cheeks ?
So foul a sky clears not without a storm :
Pour down thy weather :—How goes all in France ?

MESS. From France to England⁴.—Never such a
power

For any foreign preparation,
Was levied in the body of a land !
The copy of your speed is learn'd by them ;
For, when you should be told they do prepare,
The tidings come, that they are all arriv'd.

K. JOHN. O, where hath our intelligence been
drunk ?

Where hath it slept⁵ ? Where is my mother's care ?
That such an army could be drawn in France,
And she not hear of it ?

MESS. My liege, her ear
Is stopp'd with dust ; the first of April, died
Your noble mother : And, as I hear, my lord,
The lady Constance in a frenzy died
Three days before : but this from rumour's tongue
I idly heard ; if true, or false, I know not.

⁴ From France to England.] The King asks *how all goes in France*, the Messenger catches the word *goes*, and answers, that *whatever* is in France *goes* now into England. JOHNSON.

⁵ O, where hath our intelligence been DRUNK ?

Where hath it SLEPT ?] So, in Macbeth :

“ — Was the hope drunk

“ Wherein you drest yourself ? hath it slept since ? ”

MALONE.

K. JOHN. Withhold thy speed, dreadful occasion!
O, make a league with me, till I have pleas'd
My discontented peers!—What! mother dead?
How wildly then walks my estate in France⁶!—
Under whose conduct came those powers of France,
That thou for truth giv'st out, are landed here?

MESS. Under the Dauphin.

Enter the Bastard and PETER of POMFRET.

K. JOHN. Thou hast made me giddy
With these ill tidings.—Now, what says the world
To your proceedings? do not seek to stuff
My head with more ill news, for it is full.

BAST. But, if you be afraid to hear the worst,
Then let the worst, unheard, fall on your head.

K. JOHN. Bear with me, cousin; for I was
amaz'd⁷

Under the tide: but now I breathe again
Aloft the flood; and can give audience
To any tongue, speak it of what it will.

BAST. How I have sped among the clergymen,
The sums I have collected shall express.
But as I travell'd hither through the land,
I find the people strangely fantasied;
Possess'd with rumours, full of idle dreams;
Not knowing what they fear, but full of fear:

⁶ How WILDLY then WALKS my estate in France!] So, in one of the Paston Letters, vol. iii. p. 99: "The country of Norfolk and Suffolk stand right *wildly*." STEEVENS.

i. e. How ill my affairs *go* in France!—The verb, to *walk*, is used with great licence by old writers. It often means, to *go*, to *move*. So, in the Continuation of Harding's Chronicle, 1543: "Evil words *walke* far." Again, in Fenner's Compter's Commonwealth, 1618: "The keeper, admiring he could not hear his prisoner's tongue *walk* all this while," &c. MALONE.

⁷ —I was AMAZ'D —] i. e. stunned, confounded. So, in Cymbeline: "—I am *amaz'd* with matter." Again, in The Merry Wives of Windsor, vol. viii. p. 200.

"You do *amaze* her: hear the truth of it." STEEVENS.

And here's a prophet ⁸, that I brought with me
 From forth the streets of Pomfret, whom I found
 With many hundreds treading on his heels ;
 To whom he sung, in rude harsh-sounding rhymes,
 That, ere the next Ascension-day at noon,
 Your highness should deliver up your crown.

K. JOHN. Thou idle dreamer, wherefore didst
 thou so ?

PETER. Foreknowing that the truth will fall out
 so.

K. JOHN. Hubert, away with him ; imprison him ;
 And on that day at noon, whereon, he says,
 I shall yield up my crown, let him be hang'd.
 Deliver him to safety ⁹, and return,
 For I must use thee.—O my gentle cousin,

[*Exit HUBERT, with PETER.*

Hear'st thou the news abroad, who are arriv'd ?

BAST. The French, my lord ; men's mouths are
 full of it :

Besides, I met lord Bigot, and lord Salisbury,
 (With eyes as red as new-enkindled fire,)
 And others more, going to seek the grave
 Of Arthur, who, they say ¹, is kill'd to-night
 On your suggestion.

⁸ And here's a prophet,] This man was a hermit in great repute with the common people. Notwithstanding the event is said to have fallen out as he had prophesied, the poor fellow was inhumanly dragged at horses' tails through the streets of Warham, and, together with his son, who appears to have been even more innocent than his father, hanged afterwards upon a gibbet. See Holinshed's Chronicle, under the year 1213. DOUCE.

See A. of Wyntown's Cronykil, b. vii. ch. viii. v. 801, &c.

STEEVENS.

Speed (History of Great Britain, p. 499,) observes, that he [Peter the Hermit] was suborned by the Pope's legate, the French king, and the Barons for this purpose. GREY.

⁹ Deliver him to safety,] That is, " Give him into safe custody." JOHNSON.

¹ — WHO, they say,] Old copy—*whom*. Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

K. JOHN. Gentle kinsman, go,
And thrust thyself into their companies :
I have a way to win their loves again ;
Bring them before me.

BAST. I will seek them out.

K. JOHN. Nay, but make haste ; the better foot
before.——

O, let me have no subject enemies,
When adverse foreigners affright my towns
With dreadful pomp of stout invasion !—
Be Mercury, set feathers to thy heels ;
And fly, like thought, from them to me again.

BAST. The spirit of the time shall teach me
speed. *[Exit.]*

K. JOHN. Spoke like a spritful noble gentle-
man.—

Go after him ; for he, perhaps, shall need
Some messenger betwixt me and the peers ;
And be thou he.

MESS. With all my heart, my liege. *[Exit.]*

K. JOHN. My mother dead !

Re-enter HUBERT.

HUB. My lord, they say, five moons were seen
to-night² :

Four fixed ; and the fifth did whirl about
The other four, in wond'rous motion.

K. JOHN. Five moons ?

HUB. Old men, and beldams, in the streets
Do prophecy upon it dangerously :

² — five moons were seen to-night, &c.] This incident is mentioned by few of our historians. I have met with it no where but in Matthew of Westminster and Polydore Virgil, with a small alteration. GREY.

This incident is likewise mentioned in the old King John.

STEEVENS.

Young Arthur's death is common in their mouths :
 And when they talk of him, they shake their heads,
 And whisper one another in the ear ;
 And he, that speaks, doth gripe the hearer's wrist ;
 Whilst he, that hears, makes fearful action,
 With wrinkled brows, with nods, with rolling eyes³.
 I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
 The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,
 With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news ;
 Who, with his shears and measure in his hand,
 Standing on slippers, (which his nimble haste
 Had falsely thrust upon contráry feet⁴),

³ And he, that speaks, doth gripe the hearer's wrist ;] This description may be compared with a spirited passage in Edward III. Capell's Prolusions, p. 75 :

“ Our men with open mouths, and staring eyes

“ Look on each other, as they did attend

“ Each others words, and yet no creature speaks ;

“ A tongue-ty'd fear hath made a midnight hour,

“ And speeches sleep through all the waking regions.”

MALONE.

⁴ —slippers, (which his nimble haste

Had falsely thrust upon CONTRARY feet,)] The following notes afford a curious specimen of the difficulties which may arise from the fluctuations of fashion. What has called forth the antiquarian knowledge of so many learned commentators is again become the common practice at this day. BOSWELL.

I know not how the commentators understand this important passage, which, in Dr. Warburton's edition, is marked as eminently beautiful, and, on the whole, not without justice. But Shakspeare seems to have confounded the man's shoes with his gloves. He that is frightened or hurried may put his hand into the wrong glove, but either shoe will equally admit either foot. The author seems to be disturbed by the disorder which he describes.

JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson forgets that ancient *slippers* might possibly be very different from modern ones. Scott, in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, tells us : “ He that receiveth a mischance, will consider, whether he put not on his shirt wrong side outwards, or his *left shoe* on his *right foot*.” One of the jests of Scogan, by Andrew Borde, is how he defrauded two shoemakers, one of a *right foot* boot, and the other of a *left foot* one. And Davies,

Told of a many thousand warlike French,
That were embattailed and rank'd in Kent :
Another lean unwash'd artificer

in one of his Epigrams, compares a man to "a soft-knit *hose*, *that serves each leg*." FARMER.

In *The Fleire*, 1615, is the following passage : "— This fellow is like your *upright shoe*, he will serve either foot." From this we may infer, that some shoes could only be worn on the foot for which they were made. And Barrett, in his *Alvearie*, 1580, as an instance of the word *wrong*, says : "— to put on his *shooes wrong*." Again, in *A merye Jest of a Man that was called Howleglas*, bl. l. no date : "Howleglas had cut all the lether for the *lefte foote*. Then when his master sawe all his lether cut for the *lefte foote*, then asked he Howleglas if there belonged not to the *lefte foote* a *right foote*. Then sayd Howleglas to his maister, If that he had tolde that to me before, I would have cut them ; but an it please you I shall cut as mani *right shoone* unto them." Again, in *Frobisher's Second Voyage for the Discoverie of Cataia*, 4to. bl. l. 1578 : "They also beheld (to their great maruaille) a dublet of canuas made after the Englishe fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes for *contrarie feet*," &c. p. 21. See also the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for April, 1797, p. 280, and the plate annexed, figure 3. STEEVENS.

See *Martin's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, 1703, p. 207 : "The generality now only wear shoes having one thin sole only, and *shaped after the right and left foot*, so that what is for one foot will not serve the other." The meaning seems to be, that the extremities of the shoes were not round or square, but were cut in an oblique angle, or aslant from the great toe to the little one. See likewise *The Philosophical Transactions* abridged, vol. iii. p. 432, and vol. vii. p. 23, where are exhibited shoes and sandals shaped to the feet, spreading more to the outside than the inside. TOLLET.

So, in *Holland's translation of Suetonius*, 1606 :—if in a morning his shoes were put one [*r. on*] wrong, and namely *the left for the right*, he held it unlucky." Our author himself also furnishes an authority to the same point. Speed, in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, speaks of a *left shoe*. It should be remembered that tailors generally work barefooted : a circumstance which Shakspeare probably had in his thoughts when he wrote this passage. I believe the word *contrary*, in his time, was frequently accented on the second syllable, and that it was intended to be so accented here. So Spenser, in his *Fairy Queen* :

"That with the wind *contráry* courses sew." MALONE,

Cuts off his tale, and talks of Arthur's death.

K. JOHN. Why seek'st thou to possess me with
these fears?

Why urgest thou so oft young Arthur's death?
Thy hand hath murder'd him: I had a mighty
cause⁴

To wish him dead, but thou hadst none to kill him.

HUB. Had none, my lord⁵! why, did you not
provoke me?

K. JOHN. It is the curse of kings⁶, to be at-
tended

By slaves, that take their humours for a warrant

To break within the bloody house of life:

And, on the winking of authority,

To understand a law; to know the meaning

Of dangerous majesty, when, perchance, it frowns

More upon humour than advis'd respect⁷.

HUB. Here is your hand and seal for what I did.

K. JOHN. O, when the last account 'twixt heaven
and earth

Is to be made, then shall this hand and seal

Witness against us to damnation!

How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds,

Makes deeds ill done! Hadest not thou been by,

A fellow by the hand of nature mark'd,

⁴ — I had mighty cause —] The old copy, more redundantly
—"I had a mighty cause." STEEVENS.

⁵ HAD NONE, my lord!] Old copy—*No had.* Corrected by
Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁶ It is the curse of kings, &c.] This plainly hints at Davison's
case, in the affair of Mary Queen of Scots, and so must have been
inserted long after the first representation. WARBURTON.

It is extremely probable that our author meant to pay his court
to Elizabeth by this covert apology for her conduct to Mary.
The Queen of Scots was beheaded in 1587, some years, I believe,
before he had produced any play on the stage. MALONE.

⁷ — advis'd respect.] i. e. deliberate consideration, reflection.
So, in *Hamlet*:

" — There's the *respect*

" That makes calamity of so long life." STEEVENS.

Quoted ⁸, and sign'd, to do a deed of shame,
 This murder had not come into my mind :
 But, taking note of thy abhorr'd aspect,
 Finding thee fit for bloody villainy,
 Apt, liable, to be employ'd in danger,
 I faintly broke with thee of Arthur's death ;
 And thou, to be endeared to a king,
 Made it no conscience to destroy a prince.

HUB. My lord,——

K. JOHN. Hadst thou but shook thy head ⁹, or
 made a pause,
 When I spake darkly what I purposed ;
 Or turn'd an eye of doubt upon my face ¹,
 And bid ² me tell my tale in express words ;

⁸ Quoted,] i. e. observed, distinguished. So, in Hamlet :

“ I am sorry, that with better heed and judgment

“ I had not *quoted him*.” STEEVENS.

See vol. iv. p. 369, n. 1. MALONE.

⁹ Hadst thou but shook thy head, &c.] There are many touches of nature in this conference of John with Hubert. A man engaged in wickedness would keep the profit to himself, and transfer the guilt to his accomplice. These reproaches, vented against Hubert, are not the words of art or policy, but the eruptions of a mind swelling with consciousness of a crime, and desirous of discharging its misery on another.

This account of the timidity of guilt is drawn *ab ipsis recessibus mentis*, from the intimate knowledge of mankind, particularly that line in which he says, that *to have bid him tell his tale in express words*, would have *struck him dumb*: nothing is more certain than that bad men use all the arts of fallacy upon themselves, palliate their actions to their own minds by gentle terms, and hide themselves from their own detection in ambiguities and subterfuges.

JOHNSON.

¹ Or turn'd an eye of doubt upon my face,

As bid me tell my tale in express words ;] That is, such an eye of doubt as bid me tell my tale in express words. M. MASON.

² AND bid —] The old copy reads—*As bid*. For the present emendation I am answerable.

Mr. Pope reads—*Or bid me*, &c. but *As* is very unlikely to have been printed for *Or*.

As we have here *As* printed instead of *And*, so, *vice versâ*, in King Henry V. 4to. 1600, we find *And* misprinted for *As* :

Deep shame had struck me dumb, made me break
off,

And those thy fears might have wrought fears in
me :

But thou didst understand me by my signs,
And didst in signs again parley with sin ;
Yea, without stop, didst let thy heart consent,
And, consequently, thy rude hand to act
The deed, which both our tongues held vile to
name.—

Out of my sight, and never see me more !
My nobles leave me ; and my state is brav'd,
Even at my gates, with ranks of foreign powers :
Nay, in the body of this fleshly land,
This kingdom, this confine of blood and breath,
Hostility and civil tumult reigns
Between my conscience, and my cousin's death.

HUB. Arm you against your other enemies,
I'll make a peace between your soul and you.
Young Arthur is alive : This hand of mine
Is yet a maiden and an innocent hand,
Not painted with the crimson spots of blood.
Within this bosom never enter'd yet
The dreadful motion of a murd'rous thought³,

“ And in this glorious and well foughten field

“ We kept together in our chivalry.” MALONE.

As, in ancient language, has sometimes the power of—*as for instance*. So, in *Hamlet* :

“ *As*, stars with trains of fire,” &c.

In the present instance it seems to mean, *as if*. “ Had you (says the King, speaking elliptically,) turned an eye of doubt on my face, *as if* to bid me tell my tale in express words,” &c. So, in *Spenser's Fairy Queen* :

“ That with the noise it shook *as* it would fall ;”

i. e. *as if*.—I have not therefore disturbed the old reading.

STEEVENS.

³ The dreadful motion of a MURD'ROUS thought,] Nothing can be falser than what Hubert here says in his own vindication ; for we find, from a preceding scene, “ the motion of a murd'rous thought had entered into him,” and that very deeply : and it was

And you have slander'd nature in my form ;
Which, howsoever rude exteriorly,
Is yet the cover of a fairer mind
Than to be butcher of an innocent child.

K. JOHN. Doth Arthur live ? O, haste thee to
the peers,
Throw this report on their incensed rage,
And make them tame to their obedience !
Forgive the comment that my passion made
Upon thy feature ; for my rage was blind,
And foul imaginary eyes of blood
Presented thee more hideous than thou art.
O, answer not ; but to my closet bring
The angry lords, with all expedient haste :
I conjure thee but slowly ; run more fast⁴. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III.

The Same. Before the Castle.

Enter ARTHUR, on the Walls.

ARTH. The wall is high ; and yet will I leap
down⁵ :—

with difficulty that the tears, the intreaties, and the innocence of Arthur had diverted and suppressed it. *WARBURTON.*

⁴ I conjure thee but slowly ; run more fast.] The old play is divided into two parts, the first of which concludes with the King's despatch of Hubert on this message ; the second begins with "Enter Arthur," &c. as in the following scene. *STEEVENS.*

⁵ The wall is high ; and yet I will leap down :] Our author has here followed the old play. In what manner Arthur was deprived of his life is not ascertained. Matthew Paris, relating the event, uses the word *evanuit* ; and, indeed, as King Philip afterwards publicly accused King John of putting his nephew to death, without either mentioning the manner of it, or his accomplices, we may conclude that it was conducted with impenetrable secrecy. The French historians, however, say, that John coming in a boat, during the night-time, to the castle of Rouen, where the

Good ground, be pitiful, and hurt me not!—
 There's few, or none, do know me; if they did,
 This ship-boy's semblance hath disguis'd me quite.
 I am afraid; and yet I'll venture it.
 If I get down, and do not break my limbs,
 I'll find a thousand shifts to get away:
 As good to die, and go, as die, and stay.

[*Leaps down.*

O me! my uncle's spirit is in these stones:—
 Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones!
 [*Dies.*

Enter PEMBROKE, SALISBURY, and BIGOT.

SAL. Lords, I will meet him at saint Edmund's
 Bury;

It is our safety, and we must embrace
 This gentle offer of the perilous time.

PEM. Who brought that letter from the cardinal?

SAL. The count Melun, a noble lord of France;
 Whose private with me⁶, of the Dauphin's love,
 Is much more general than these lines import.

BIG. To-morrow morning let us meet him then.

SAL. Or, rather then set forward: for 'twill be
 Two long days' journey, lords, or e'er we meet⁷.

young prince was confined, ordered him to be brought forth, and having stabbed him, while supplicating for mercy, the King fastened a stone to the dead body, and threw it into the Seine, in order to give some colour to a report, which he afterwards caused to be spread, that the prince attempting to escape out of a window of the tower of the castle, fell into the river, and was drowned.

MALONE.

6 Whose private, &c.] i. e. whose private account of the Dauphin's affection to our cause is much more ample than the letters.

POPE.

7 — OR E'ER WE MEET.] This phrase, so frequent in our old writers, is not well understood. *Or* is here the same as *ere*, i. e. *before*, and should be written (as it is still pronounced in Shropshire) *ore*. There the common people use it often. Thus, they say, *Ore to-morrow*, for *ere* or *before to-morrow*. The addition of *ever*, or *e'er*, is merely augmentative.

Enter the Bastard.

BAST. Once more to-day well met, distemper'd⁸
lords !

The king, by me, requests your presence straight.

SAL. The king hath dispossess'd himself of us ;
We will not line his thin bestained cloak
With our pure honours, nor attend the foot
That leaves the print of blood where-e'er it walks :
Return, and tell him so ; we know the worst.

BAST. Whate'er you think, good words, I think,
were best.

SAL. Our griefs, and not our manners, reason
now⁹.

That *or* has the full sense of *before*, and that *e'er*, when joined with it, is merely augmentative, is proved from innumerable passages in our ancient writers, wherein *or* occurs simply without *e'er*, and must bear that signification. Thus, in the old tragedy of Master Arden of Feversham, 1599, quarto, (attributed by some, though falsely, to Shakspeare,) the wife says :

" He shall be murdered *or* the guests come in."

Sig. H. iii. b. PERCY.

So, in All for Money, an old Morality, 1574 :

" I could sit in the cold a good while I swear,

" *Or* I would be weary such suitors to hear."

Again, in Every Man, another Morality, no date :

" As, *or* we departe, thou shalt know."

Again, in the interlude of The Disobedient Child, bl. l. no date :

" To send for victuals *or* I came away."

That *or* should be written *ore* I am by no means convinced. The vulgar pronunciation of a particular county ought not to be received as a general guide. *Ere* is nearer the Saxon primitive ær. STEEVENS.

See vol. xv. p. 25, n. 8. BOSWELL.

⁸ — distemper'd —] i. e. ruffled, out of humour. So, in Hamlet :

" — in his retirement marvellous *distemper'd*."

STEEVENS.

⁹ — REASON NOW.] *To reason*, in Shakspeare, is not so often to argue, as to talk. JOHNSON.

So, in Coriolanus :

" — *reason* with the fellow

" Before you punish him." STEEVENS.

BAST. But there is little reason in your grief;
Therefore, 'twere reason, you had manners now.

PEM. Sir, sir, impatience hath his privilege.

BAST. 'Tis true; to hurt his master, no man
else¹.

SAL. This is the prison: What is he lies here?

[*Seeing ARTHUR.*

PEM. O death, made proud with pure and
princely beauty!

The earth had not a hole to hide this deed.

SAL. Murder, as hating what himself hath done,
Doth lay it open, to urge on revenge.

BIG. Or, when he doom'd this beauty to a
grave,

Found it too precious-princely for a grave.

SAL. Sir Richard, what think you? Have you
beheld²,

Or have you read, or heard? or could you think³?
Or do you almost think, although you see,
That you do see? could thought, without this ob-
ject,

Form such another? This is the very top,
The height, the crest, or crest unto the crest,
Of murder's arms: this is the bloodiest shame,
The wildest savag'ry, the vilest stroke,
That ever wall-ey'd wrath⁴, or staring rage,
Presented to the tears of soft remorse.

¹ — NO MAN else.] Old copy—no *man's*. Corrected by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

² HAVE YOU beheld.] Old copy—"You have," &c. Corrected by the editor of the third folio. MALONE.

³ Or have you read, or heard? &c.] Similar interrogatories have been already urged by the Dauphin, Act III. Sc. IV.:

"—— Who hath *read*, or *heard*,

"Of any kindred action like to this?" STEEVENS.

⁴ — WALL-EY'D wrath,] So, in *Titus Andronicus*, Lucius, addressing himself to Aaron the Moor:

"Say, *wall-ey'd* slave." STEEVENS.

PEMB. All murders past do stand excus'd in this:
 And this, so sole, and so unmatched,
 Shall give a holiness, a purity,
 To the yet-unbegotten sin of times ⁵;
 And prove a deadly bloodshed but a jest,
 Exemplified by this heinous spectacle.

BAST. It is a damned and a bloody work;
 The graceless action of a heavy hand,
 If that it be the work of any hand.

SAL. If that it be the work of any hand?—
 We had a kind of light, what would ensue:
 It is the shameful work of Hubert's hand;
 The practice, and the purpose, of the king:—
 From whose obedience I forbid my soul,
 Kneeling before this ruin of sweet life,
 And breathing to his breathless excellence
 The incense of a vow, a holy vow;
 Never to taste the pleasures of the world ⁶,
 Never to be infected with delight,
 Nor conversant with ease and idleness,
 Till I have set a glory to this hand,

⁵ — of TIMES;] That is, of all future times. So, in King Henry V.:

“By custom and the ordinance of *times*.”

Again, in *The Rape of Lucrece*:

“For now against himself he sounds his doom,

“That through the length of *times* he stands disgrac'd.”

Mr. Pope and the subsequent editors more elegantly read—*sins of time*; but the peculiarities of Shakspeare's diction ought, in my apprehension, to be faithfully preserved. MALONE.

I follow Mr. Pope, whose reading is justified by a line in the celebrated soliloquy of Hamlet:

“For who would bear the whips and scorns of *time*?”

Again, by another in this play of King John, p. 346:

“I am not glad that such a sore of *time*—.” STEEVENS.

⁶ — a holy vow;

Never to taste the pleasures of the world,] This is a copy of the vows made in the ages of superstition and chivalry.

JOHNSON.

By giving it the worship of revenge⁷.

PEM. BIG. Our souls religiously confirm thy words.

Enter HUBERT.

HUB. Lords, I am hot with haste in seeking you:

⁷ Till I have set a GLORY to this HAND,

By giving it the worship of revenge.] The *worship*, is the dignity, the honour. We still say *worshipful* of magistrates.

JOHNSON.

I think it should be—a glory to this *head*;—pointing to the dead prince, and using the word *worship* in its common acceptation. A *glory* is a frequent term:

“Round a quaker’s beaver cast a *glory*,”

says Mr. Pope: the solemn confirmation of the other lords seems to require this sense. The late Mr. Gray was much pleased with this correction. FARMER.

The old reading seems right to me, and means,—“till I have famed and renowned my own hand by giving it the honour of revenge for so foul a deed.” *Glory* means *splendor* and magnificence in St. Matthew, vi. 29. So, in Markham’s Husbandry, 1631, p. 353: “But if it be where the tide is scant, and doth no more but bring the river to a *glory*,” i. e. fills the banks without overflowing. So, in Act II. Sc. II. of this play:

“O, two such silver currents, when they join,

“Do *glorify* the banks that bound them in.”

A thought almost similar to the present, occurs in Ben Jonson’s Catiline, who, Act IV. Sc. IV. says to Cethegus: “When we meet again we’ll sacrifice to liberty. *Cet.* And *revenge*. That we may praise our *hands* once!” i. e. O! that we may set a *glory*, or procure honour and praise, to our *hands*, which are the instruments of action. TOLLET.

I believe, at repeating these lines, Salisbury should take hold of the *hand* of Arthur, to which he promises to pay the worship of revenge. M. MASON.

I think the old reading the true one. In the next Act we have the following lines:

“——— I will not return,

“Till my *attempt* so much be *glorified*

“As to my ample hope was promised.”

The following passage in Troilus and Cressida is decisive in support of the old reading:

“——— Jove, let Æneas live,

“If *to my sword* his fate be not the *glory*,

“A thousand complete courses of the sun.” MALONE.

Arthur doth live ; the king hath sent for you.

SAL. O, he is bold, and blushes not at death :—
Avaunt, thou hateful villain, get thee gone !

HUB. I am no villain.

SAL. Must I rob the law ?

[*Drawing his sword.*]

BAST. Your sword is bright, sir ; put it up again ⁸.

SAL. Not till I sheath it in a murderer's skin.

HUB. Stand back, lord Salisbury, stand back, I say ;

By heaven, I think, my sword's as sharp as yours :
I would not have you, lord, forget yourself,
Nor tempt the danger of my true defence ⁹ ;
Lest I, by marking of your rage, forget
Your worth, your greatness, and nobility.

BIG. Out, dunghill ! dar'st thou brave a noble-
man ?

HUB. Not for my life : but yet I dare defend
My innocent life against an emperor.

SAL. Thou art a murderer.

HUB. Do not prove me so ;
Yet, I am none ¹ : Whose tongue soe'er speaks
false,
Not truly speaks ; who speaks not truly, lies.

PEMB. Cut him to pieces.

BAST. Keep the peace, I say.

SAL. Stand by, or I shall gall you, Faulcon-
bridge.

⁸ Your sword is bright, sir ; put it up again,] i. e. lest it lose its brightness. So, in *Othello* :

“ Keep up your bright swords ; for the dew will rust them.”

MALONE.

⁹ — true defence ;] *Honest* defence ; defence in a *good* cause. JOHNSON.

¹ Do not prove me so ;

YET, I am none :] Do not make me a murderer, by compelling me to kill you ; I am *hitherto* not a murderer. JOHNSON.

BAST. Thou wert better gall the devil, Salisbury:
 If thou but frown on me, or stir thy foot,
 Or teach thy hasty spleen to do me shame,
 I'll strike thee dead. Put up thy sword betime;
 Or I'll so maul you and your toasting-iron²,
 That you shall think the devil is come from hell³.

BIG. What wilt thou do, renowned Faulcon-
 bridge?

Second a villain, and a murderer?

HCB. Lord Bigot, I am none.

BIG. Who kill'd this prince!

HCB. 'Tis not an hour since I left him well:

I honour'd him, I lov'd him; and will weep
 My date of life out, for his sweet life's loss.

SAL. Trust not those cunning waters of his eyes,
 For villainy is not without such rheum;
 And he, long traded in it, makes it seem
 Like rivers of remorse⁴ and innocency.
 Away, with me, all you whose souls abhor
 The uncleanly savours of a slaughter-house;
 For I am stifled with this smell of sin.

BIG. Away, toward Bury, to the Dauphin there!

PEM. There, tell the king, he may inquire us out.
 [Exeunt Lords.]

¹ —your TOASTING-IRON,] The same thought is found in King Henry V.: "I dare not fight, but I will wink and hold out mine iron. It is a simple one, but what though? it will toast cheese."

Again, in Fletcher's *Woman's Prize*, or the Tamer tamed:

"— dart ladles, *toasting irons*,

"And tongs, like thunder-bolts." STEEVENS.

³ That you shall think THE DEVIL IS COME FROM HELL.] So, in the ancient MS. romance of *The Sowdon of Babyloyne*:

"And saide thai wer no men

"But *develis abroken oute of helle*." STEEVENS.

⁴ Like rivers of REMORSE—] Remorse here, as almost every where in these plays, and the contemporary books, signifies *pity*.
 MALONE.

BAST. Here's a good world !—Knew you of this fair work ?

Beyond the infinite and boundless reach
Of mercy, if thou didst this deed of death,
Art thou damn'd, Hubert.

HUB. Do but hear me, sir.

BAST. Ha ! I'll tell thee what ;
Thou art damn'd as black—nay, nothing is so black ;

Thou art more deep damn'd than prince Lucifer ⁵ :
There is not yet so ugly a fiend of hell
As thou shalt be, if thou didst kill this child ⁶.

HUB. Upon my soul,——

BAST. If thou didst but consent
To this most cruel act, do but despair,
And, if thou want'st a cord, the smallest thread
That ever spider twisted from her womb
Will serve to strangle thee ; a rush will be
A beam to hang thee on ; or would'st thou drown
thyself⁷,
Put but a little water in a spoon,

⁵ Thou art more deep damn'd than prince Lucifer:] So, in the old play :

“ Hell, Hubert, trust me, all the plagues of hell

“ Hangs on performance of this damned deed ;

“ This seal, the warrant of the body's bliss,

“ Ensureth Satan chieftain of thy soul.” MALONE.

⁶ There is not yet, &c.] I remember once to have met with a book, printed in the time of Henry VIII. (which Shakspeare possibly might have seen,) where we are told that the deformity of the condemned in the other world, is exactly proportioned to the degrees of their guilt. The author of it observes how difficult it would be, on this account, to distinguish between Belzebub and Judas Iscariot. STEEVENS.

⁷ —drown THYSELF.] Perhaps—*thyself* is an interpolation. It certainly spoils the measure ; and *drown* is elsewhere used by our author as a verb neuter. Thus, in King Richard III. :

“ Good lord, methought, what pain it was to *drown*.”

STEEVENS.

And it shall be as all the ocean,
Enough to stifle such a villain up.—
I do suspect thee very grievously.

HUB. If I in act, consent, or sin of thought
Be guilty of the stealing that sweet breath
Which was embounded in this beauteous clay,
Let hell want pains enough to torture me !
I left him well.

BAST. Go, bear him in thine arms.—
I am amaz'd⁸, methinks ; and lose my way
Among the thorns and dangers of this world.—
How easy dost thou take all England up !
From forth this morsel of dead royalty,
The life, the right, and truth of all this realm
Is fled to heaven ; and England now is left
To tug and scramble⁹, and to part by the teeth
The unowed interest¹ of proud-swelling state.
Now, for the bare-pick'd bone of majesty,
Doth dogged war bristle his angry crest,
And snarleth in the gentle eyes of peace :
Now powers from home, and discontents at
home,
Meet in one line ; and vast confusion waits
(As doth a raven on a sick-fallen beast,)

⁸ I am AMAZ'D,] i. e. *confounded*. So, King John, p. 322, says :

“ ——— I was *amaz'd*

“ Under the tide.” STEEVENS.

⁹ To tug and SCAMBLE,] So, in K. Henry V. Sc. I. :

“ But that the *scambling* and unquiet time.”

Scamble and *scramble* have the same meaning. See note on the passage quoted. STEEVENS.

¹ The UNOWED interest —] i. e. the interest which has no proper owner to claim it. STEEVENS.

That is, the interest which is not at this moment legally *possessed* by any one, however rightfully entitled to it. On the death of Arthur, the *right* to the English crown devolved to his sister, Eleanor. MALONE.

The imminent decay of wrested pomp².
 Now happy he, whose cloak and cincture³ can
 Hold out this tempest. Bear away that child,
 And follow me with speed; I'll to the king:
 A thousand businesses are brief in hand,
 And heaven itself doth frown upon the land.

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT V. SCENE I.

The Same. A Room in the Palace.

Enter King JOHN, PANDULPH with the Crown, and Attendants.

K. JOHN. Thus have I yielded up into your hand
 The circle of my glory.

PAND.

Take again

[*Giving JOHN the Crown.*]

From this my hand, as holding of the pope,
 Your sovereign greatness and authority.

K. JOHN. Now keep your holy word: go meet
 the French;
 And from his holiness use all your power
 To stop their marches, 'fore we are inflam'd⁴.

² The imminent decay of WRESTED POMP.] *Wrested pomp* is greatness obtained by violence. JOHNSON.

Rather, greatness wrested from its possessor. MALONE.

³ — and CINCTURE —] The old copy reads—*center*, probably for *ceinture*, Fr. STEEVENS.

The emendation was made by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁴ — use all your power

To stop their marches, 'FORE we are inflam'd.] This cannot be right, for the nation was already as much inflamed as it could be, and so the King himself declares. We should read *for*, instead of *'fore*, and then the passage will run thus:

Our discontented counties⁵ do revolt;
 Our people quarrel with obedience;
 Swearing allegiance, and the love of soul,
 To stranger blood, to foreign royalty.
 This inundation of mistemper'd humour
 Rests by you only to be qualified.
 Then pause not; for the present time's so sick,
 That present medicine must be minister'd,
 Or overthrow incurable ensues.

PAND. It was my breath that blew this tempest
 up,
 Upon your stubborn usage of the pope:
 But, since you are a gentle convertite⁶,

“ ——— use all your power

“ To stop their marches, *for* we are inflam'd;

“ Our discontented counties do revolt,” &c. M. MASON.

⁵ — counties —] Perhaps *counties*, in the present instance, do not mean the divisions of a kingdom, but *lords, nobility*, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, &c. STEEVENS.

⁶ — a gentle CONVERTITE.] A *convertite* is a *convert*. So, in Marlow's *Jew of Malta*, 1633:

“ Gov. Why, Barabas, wilt thou be christened?

“ Bar. No, governour; I'll be no *convertite*.” STEEVENS.

The same expression occurs in *As You Like It*, where Jaques, speaking of the young Duke, says:

“ There is much matter in these *convertites*.”

In both these places the word *convertite* means a *repenting sinner*; not, as Steevens says, a *convert*, by which, in the language of the present time, is meant a person who changes from one religion to another; in which sense the word can neither apply to King John, or to Duke Frederick: In the sense I have given it, it will apply to both. M. MASON.

A *convertite* (a word often used by our old writers, where we should now use *convert*) signified either one converted to the *faith*, or one reclaimed from worldly pursuits, and devoted to penitence and religion.

Mr. M. Mason says, a *convertite* cannot mean a *convert*, because the latter word, “ in the language of the present time, means a person that changes from one religion to another.” But the question is, not what is the language of the present time, but what was the language of Shakspeare's age. Marlow uses the word *convertite* exactly in the sense now affixed to *convert*. John, who had in the former part of this play asserted, in very

My tongue shall hush again this storm of war,
 And make fair weather in your blustering land.
 On this Ascension-day, remember well,
 Upon your oath of service to the pope,
 Go I to make the French lay down their arms.

[*Exit.*

K. JOHN. Is this Ascension-day? Did not the
 prophet
 Say, that, before Ascension-day at noon,
 My crown I should give off? Even so I have:
 I did suppose, it should be on constraint;
 But, heaven be thank'd, it is but voluntary.

Enter the Bastard.

BAST. All Kent hath yielded; nothing there holds
 out,
 But Dover castle: London hath receiv'd,
 Like a kind host, the Dauphin and his powers:
 Your nobles will not hear you, but are gone
 To offer service to your enemy;
 And wild amazement hurries up and down
 The little number of your doubtful friends.

K. JOHN. Would not my lords return to me
 again,
 After they heard young Arthur was alive?

strong terms, the supremacy of the king of England in all ecclesiastical matters, and told Pandolph that he had no reverence for "the Pope, or his *usurp'd* authority," having now made his peace with the "*holy church*," and resigned his crown to the Pope's representative, is considered by the legate as one newly converted to the true faith, and very properly styled by him a *convertite*. The same term, in the second sense above-mentioned, is applied to the *usurper*, Duke Frederick, in *As You Like It*, on his having "put on a religious life, and thrown into neglect the pompous court:"

"——— out of these *convertites*

"There is much matter to be heard and learn'd."

So, in *The Rape of Lucrece*:

"He thence departs a heavy *convertite*." MALONE.

BAST. They found him dead, and cast into the streets ;

An empty casket, where the jewel of life ⁷
By some damn'd hand was robb'd and ta'en away.

K. JOHN. That villain Hubert told me, he did live.

BAST. So, on my soul, he did, for aught he knew.

But wherefore do you droop ? why look you sad ?

Be great in act, as you have been in thought ;

Let not the world see fear, and sad distrust,

Govern the motion of a kingly eye :

Be stirring as the time ; be fire with fire ;

Threaten the threat'ner, and outface the brow

Of bragging horror : so shall inferior eyes,

That borrow their behaviours from the great,

Grow great by your example, and put on

The dauntless spirit of resolution ⁸.

Away, and glister like the god of war,

When he intendeth to become the field ⁹ :

Show boldness, and aspiring confidence.

What shall they seek the lion in his den,

And fright him there ? and make him tremble there ?

O, let it not be said !—Forage, and run ¹

⁷ AN EMPTY CASKET, where the JEWEL of life —] Dryden has transferred this image to a speech of Antony, in *Ali for Love* :

“ An empty circle, since the jewel's gone —.” STEEVENS.

The same kind of imagery is employed in *King Richard II.* :

“ A jewel in a ten-times-barr'd-up chest

“ Is a bold spirit in a loyal breast.” MALONE.

⁸ ——— and put on

The dauntless spirit of resolution.] So, in *Macbeth* :

“ Let's briefly put on manly readiness,

“ And meet i' the hall together.” MALONE.

⁹ — to become the field :] So, in *Hamlet* :

“ — such a sight as this

“ Becomes the field.” STEEVENS.

¹ — FORAGE, and run —] To *forage* is here used in its original sense, for to *range abroad*. JOHNSON.

To meet displeasure further from the doors ;
And grapple with him, ere he come so nigh.

K. JOHN. The legate of the pope hath been with
me,

And I have made a happy peace with him ;
And he hath promis'd to dismiss the powers
Led by the Dauphin.

BAST. O inglorious league !
Shall we, upon the footing of our land,
Send fair-play orders, and make compromise,
Insinuation, parley, and base truce,
To arms invasive ? shall a beardless boy,
A cocker'd silken wanton brave our fields,
And flesh his spirit in a warlike soil,
Mocking the air with colours idly spread ²,
And find no check ? Let us, my liege, to arms :
Perchance, the cardinal cannot make your peace ;
Or if he do, let it at least be said,
They saw we had a purpose of defence.

K. JOHN. Have thou the ordering of this present
time.

BAST. Away then, with good courage ; yet, I
know,
Our party may well meet a prouder foe ³. [*Exeunt.*

² Mocking the air with colours idly spread,] He has the same image in *Macbeth* :

“ Where the Norweyan banners flout the sky,

“ And fan our people cold.” *JOHNSON.*

From these two passages Mr. Gray seems to have formed the first stanza of his celebrated Ode :

“ Ruin seize thee, ruthless king !

“ Confusion on thy banners wait !

“ Though *fann'd* by conquest's crimson wing

“ They *mock the air with idle state.*” *MALONE.*

³ Away then, with good courage ; yet, I know,

Our party may well meet a prouder foe.] “ Let us then away with courage ; yet I so well know the faintness of our party, that I think it may easily happen that they shall encounter enemies who have more spirit than themselves.” *JOHNSON.*

SCENE II.

A Plain, near St. Edmund's-Bury⁴.

Enter, in arms, LEWIS, SALISBURY, MELUN, PEMBROKE, BIGOT, and Soldiers.

LEW. My lord Melun, let this be copied out,
And keep it safe for our remembrance:
Return the precedent⁵ to these lords again;
That, having our fair order written down,
Both they, and we, perusing o'er these notes,
May know wherefore we took the sacrament,
And keep our faiths firm and inviolable.

SAL. Upon our sides it never shall be broken.
And, noble Dauphin, albeit we swear

Dr. Johnson is, I believe, mistaken. Faulconbridge means—
'for all their boasting, I know very well that our party is able to cope
with one yet prouder and more confident of its strength than theirs.
Faulconbridge would otherwise dispirit the King, whom he means
to animate. STEEVENS.

Yet I know, is—*still* I know. BOSWELL.

⁴ — near St. Edmund's-Bury.] I have ventured to fix the
place of the scene here, which is specified by none of the editors,
on the following authorities. In the preceding Act, where Salis-
bury has fixed to go over to the Dauphin, he says:

"Lords, I will meet him at *St. Edmund's-Bury*."

And Count Melun, in this last Act, says:

"—— and many more with me,

"Upon the altar at *St. Edmund's-Bury*;

"Even on that altar, where we swore to you

"Dear amity, and everlasting love."

And it appears likewise, from *The Troublesome Reign of King
John*, in two Parts, (the first rough model of this play,) that the
interchange of vows betwixt the Dauphin and the English barons
was at *St. Edmund's-Bury*. THEOBALD.

⁵ — the PRECEDENT, &c.] i. e. the rough draught of the ori-
ginal treaty between the Dauphin and the English lords. Thus
(adds Mr. M. Mason) in King Richard III. the scrivener em-
ployed to engross the indictment of Lord Hastings, says, "that it
took him eleven hours to write it, and that the *precedent* was full
as long a doing." STEEVENS.

Would bear thee from the knowledge of thyself,
 A voluntary zeal, and unurg'd faith,
 To your proceedings; yet, believe me, prince,
 I am not glad that such a sore of time
 Should seek a plaster by contemn'd revolt,
 And heal the inveterate canker of one wound,
 By making many: O, it grieves my soul,
 That I must draw this metal from my side
 To be a widow-maker; O, and there,
 Where honourable rescue, and defence,
 Cries out upon the name of Salisbury:
 But such is the infection of the time,
 That, for the health and physick of our right,
 We cannot deal but with the very hand
 Of stern injustice and confused wrong.—
 And is't not pity, O my grieved friends!
 That we, the sons and children of this isle,
 Were born to see so sad an hour as this;
 Wherein we step after a stranger march⁶
 Upon her gentle bosom, and fill up
 Her enemies' ranks, (I must withdraw and weep
 Upon the spot of this enforced cause⁷.)
 To grace the gentry of a land remote,
 And follow unacquainted colours here?
 What, here?—O nation, that thou could'st re-
 move!

That Neptune's arms, who clippeth thee about⁸,

⁶ — after a STRANGER march —] Our author often uses *stranger* as an adjective. See the last scene, p. 341:

“Swearing allegiance, and the love of soul,

“To *stranger* blood, to foreign royalty.”

So, in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, vol. v. p. 190:

“To seek new friends, and *stranger* companies.”

MALONE.

⁷ — the SPOT of this enforced cause,] *Spot* probably means, *stain* or *disgrace*. M. MASON.

So, in a former passage:

“To look into the *spots* and *stains* of right.” MALONE.

⁸ — CLIPPETH thee about,] i. e. *embrace*. So, in *Coriolanus*:

“Enter the city; *clip* your wives.” STEEVENS.

And grapple thee ⁹ unto a pagan shore ¹ ;
 Where these two Christian armies might combine
 The blood of malice in a vein of league,
 And not to-spend it so unneighbourly ² !

LEW. A noble temper dost thou show in this ;
 And great affections, wrestling in thy bosom,
 Do make an earthquake of nobility.
 O, what a noble combat hast thou fought ³ ,
 Between compulsion and a brave respect ⁴ !
 Let me wipe off this honourable dew,
 That silverly doth progress on thy cheeks :
 My heart hath melted at a lady's tears,

⁹ And GRAPPLE thee —] The old copy reads—" And cripple thee," &c. Perhaps our author wrote *gripple*, a word used by Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, Song 1 :

" That thrusts his *gripple* hand into her golden maw."

Our author, however, in *Macbeth*, has the verb—*grapple* :
 " *Grapples* thee to the heart and love of us —." The emendation (as Mr. Malone observes) was made by Mr. Pope.

STEEVENS.

¹ — unto a PAGAN shore ;] Our author seems to have been thinking on the wars carried on by Christian princes in the holy land against the Saracens, where the united armies of France and England might have laid their mutual animosities aside, and fought in the cause of Christ, instead of fighting against brethren and countrymen, as Salisbury and the other English noblemen who had joined the Dauphin were about to do. MALONE.

² And not to-spend it so unneighbourly.] Shakspeare employs, in the present instance, a phraseology which he had used before in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* :

" And fairy-like, to-pinch the unclean-knight."

To, in composition with verbs, is common enough in ancient language. See Mr. Tyrwhitt's observations on this last passage, and many instances in support of his position, vol. viii. p. 164, n. 9.

STEEVENS.

³ — hast THOU fought,] *Thou*, which appears to have been accidentally omitted by the transcriber or compositor, was inserted by the editor of the fourth folio. MALONE.

⁴ Between COMPELSION and a brave respect !] This *compulsion* was the necessity of a reformation in the state ; which, according to Salisbury's opinion, (who, in his speech preceding, calls it an *enforced cause*,) could only be procured by foreign arms : and the *brave respect* was the love of his country. WARBURTON.

Being an ordinary inundation ;
But this effusion of such manly drops,
This shower, blown up by tempest of the soul ^s,
Startles mine eyes, and makes me more amaz'd
Than had I seen the vaulty top of heaven
Figur'd quite o'er with burning meteors.
Lift up thy brow, renowned Salisbury,
And with a great heart heave away this storm :
Commend these waters to those baby eyes,
That never saw the giant world enrag'd ;
Nor met with fortune other than at feasts,
Full warm of blood, of mirth, of gossiping.
Come, come ; for thou shalt thrust thy hand as
 deep
Into the purse of rich prosperity,
As Lewis himself :—so, nobles, shall you all,
That knit your sinews to the strength of mine.

Enter PANDULPH, attended.

And even there, methinks, an angel spake ⁶ :
 Look, where the holy legate comes apace,
 To give us warrant from the hand of heaven ;

⁵ This SHOWER, BLOWN UP BY TEMPEST of the soul,] So, in our author's Rape of Lucrece :

"This windy *tempest*, till it *blow up rain*,

"Held back his sorrow's tide —." MALONE.

⁶ — an angel spake :] Sir T. Hanmer, and, after him, Dr. Warburton, read here—"an angel *speeds*," I think unnecessarily. The Dauphin does not yet hear the legate indeed, nor pretend to hear him; but seeing him advance, and concluding that he comes to animate and authorize him with the power of the church, he cries out, "at the sight of this holy man, I am encouraged as *by the voice of an angel*." JOHNSON.

Rather, *In what I have now said*, an angel spake; for see, the holy legate approaches, to give a warrant from *heaven*, and the name of *right* to our cause. MALONE.

This thought is far from a new one. Thus, in Gower, *De Confessione Amantis* :

“Hem thought it sowned in her ere,

"As though that it an angell were." STEEVENS.

And on our actions set the name of right,
With holy breath.

PAND. Hail, noble prince of France !
The next is this,—king John hath reconcil'd
Himself to Rome ; his spirit is come in,
That so stood out against the holy church,
The great metropolis and see of Rome :
Therefore thy threat'ning colours now wind up,
And tame the savage spirit of wild war ;
That, like a lion foster'd up at hand,
It may lie gently at the foot of peace,
And be no further harmful than in show.

LEW. Your grace shall pardon me, I will not
back ;

I am too high-born to be propertied,
To be a secondary at control,
Or useful serving-man, and instrument,
To any sovereign state throughout the world.
Your breath first kindled the dead coal of wars.
Between this chāstis'd kingdom and myself,
And brought in matter that should feed this fire ;
And now 'tis far too huge to be blown out
With that same weak wind which enkindled it.
You taught me how to know the face of right,
Acquainted me with interest to this land ⁷,
Yea, thrust this enterprize into my heart ;
And come you now to tell me, John hath made
His peace with Rome ? What is that peace to me ?
I, by the honour of my marriage-bed,

⁷ You taught me how to know the face of right,

Acquainted me with interest to this land,] This was the phraseology of Shakspeare's time. So again, in King Henry IV. Part II. :

“ He hath more worthy interest to the state,

“ Than thou the shadow of succession.”

Again, in Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, vol. ii. p. 927 :
“ — in 4. R. 2. he had a release from Rose the daughter and heir
of Sir John de Arden before specified, of all her *interest* to the
manor of Pedimore.” MALONE.

After young Arthur, claim this land for mine ;
 And, now it is half-conquer'd, must I back,
 Because that John hath made his peace with
 Rome ?

Am I Rome's slave ? What penny hath Rome
 borne,

What men provided, what munition sent,
 To underprop this action ? is't not I,
 That undergo this charge ? who else but I,
 And such as to my claim are liable,
 Sweat in this business, and maintain this war ?
 Have I not heard these islanders shout out,
Vive le roy ! as I have bank'd their towns ⁸ ?
 Have I not here the best cards for the game,
 To win this easy match play'd for a crown ?
 And shall I now give o'er the yielded set ?
 No, no, on my soul ⁹, it never shall be said.

PAND. You look but on the outside of this work.

LEW. Outside or inside, I will not return
 Till my attempt so much be glorified
 As to my ample hope was promised
 Before I drew this gallant head of war ¹,

⁸ — as I have BANK'D THEIR TOWNS ?] “Bank'd their towns” may mean, ‘throw up entrenchments before them.’

The old play of King John, however, leaves this interpretation extremely disputable. It appears from thence that these salutations were given to the Dauphin as he *sailed along the banks* of the river. This, I suppose, Shakspeare calls *banking* the towns.

“ — from the hollow holes of Thamesis

“ Echo apace replied, *Vive le roi !*

“ From thence along the wanton rolling glade,

“ To Troynovant, your fair metropolis.”

We still say to *coast* and to *flank*; and to *bank* has no less of propriety, though it is not reconciled to us by modern usage.

STEEVENS.

⁹ No, on my soul,] In the old copy, *no*, injuriously to the measure, is repeated. STEEVENS.

¹ — DREW this gallant head of war,] i. e. assembled it, drew it out into the field. So, in King Henry IV. Part I. :

“ And that his friends by deputation could not

“ So soon be *drawn*.” STEEVENS.

And cull'd these fiery spirits from the world,
To outlook² conquest, and to win renown
Even in the jaws of danger and of death.—

[*Trumpet sounds.*]

What lusty trumpet thus doth summon us ?

Enter the Bastard, attended.

BAST. According to the fair play of the world,
Let me have audience ; I am sent to speak :——
My holy lord of Milan, from the king
I come, to learn how you have dealt for him ;
And, as you answer, I do know the scope
And warrant limited unto my tongue.

PAND. The Dauphin is too wilful-opposite,
And will not temporize with my entreaties ;
He flatly says, he'll not lay down his arms.

BAST. By all the blood that ever fury breath'd,
The youth says well :—Now hear our English king ;
For thus his royalty doth speak in me.
He is prepar'd ; and reason too³, he should :
This apish and unmannerly approach,
This harness'd masque, and unadvised revel,
This unhair'd sauciness, and boyish troops⁴,

² — outlook —] i. e. face down, bear down by a show of magnanimity. In a former scene of this play, p. 343, we have :

“ — outface the brow

“ Of bragging horror.” STEEVENS.

³ — and reason too,] Old copy—to. Corrected by the editor of the second folio. MALONE.

⁴ This UNHAIR'D sauciness, and boyish troops,] The printed copies—*unheard* ; but *unheard* is an epithet of very little force or meaning here ; besides, let us observe how it is coupled. Faulconbridge is sneering at the Dauphin's invasion, as an unadvised enterprise, savouring of youth and indiscretion ; the result of childishness, and unthinking rashness ; and he seems altogether to dwell on this character of it, by calling his preparation “ boyish troops, dwarfish war, pigmy arms,” &c. which, according to my emendation, sort very well with *unhair'd*, i. e. *unbearded* sauciness.

THEOBALD.

Hair was formerly written *hear*. Hence the mistake might

Thinking his voice an armed Englishman ;—
 Shall that victorious hand be feeble here,
 That in your chambers gave you chastisement ?
 No : Know, the gallant monarch is in arms ;
 And like an eagle o'er his airy towers ⁸,
 To souse annoyance that comes near his nest.—
 And you degenerate, you ingrate revolts,
 You bloody Neroes, ripping up the womb
 Of your dear mother England, blush for shame :
 For your own ladies, and pale-visag'd maids,
 Like Amazons, come tripping after drums ;
 Their thimbles into armed gauntlets change,
 Their neelds to lances ⁹, and their gentle hearts
 To fierce and bloody inclination.

LEW. There end thy brave, and turn thy face in
 peace ;

We grant, thou canst outscold us : fare thee well ;
 We hold our time too precious to be spent
 With such a brabblor.

PAND.

Give me leave to speak.

sequent editors, read—*our* nation's crow ; not observing that the Bastard is speaking of John's achievements in *France*. He likewise reads, in the next line—*his* voice ; but *this* voice, *the voice or crow of the French crow*, is sufficiently clear. MALONE.

" — *your* nation's crow," i. e. at the crowing of a cock ; *gallus* meaning both a cock and a Frenchman. DOUCE.

⁸ — like an eagle o'er his *airy* towers.] An *airy* is the nest of an eagle. So, in King Richard III. :

" Our *airy* buildeth in the cedar's top." STEEVENS.

⁹ Their *neelds* to lances,] So, in A Midsummer-Night's Dream :

" Have with our *neelds* created both one flower."

Fairfax has the same contraction of the word—*necdle*.

STEEVENS.

In the old copy the word is contractedly written *necdl's*, but it was certainly intended to be pronounced *neelds*, as it is frequently written in old English books. Many dissyllables are used by Shakspeare and other writers as monosyllables, as *whether*, *spirit*, &c. though they generally appear at length in the original editions of these plays. MALONE.

BAST. No, I will speak.

LEW. We will attend to neither :—
Strike up the drums ; and let the tongue of war
Plead for our interest, and our being here.

BAST. Indeed, your drums, being beaten, will
cry out ;
And so shall you, being beaten : Do but start
An echo with the clamour of thy drum,
And even at hand a drum is ready brac'd,
That shall reverberate all as loud as thine ;
Sound but another, and another shall,
As loud as thine, rattle the welkin's ear,
And mock the deep-mouth'd thunder : for at hand
(Not trusting to this halting legate here,
Whom he hath us'd rather for sport than need,)
Is warlike John ; and in his forehead sits
A bare-ribb'd death⁹, whose office is this day
To feast upon whole thousands of the French.

LEW. Strike up our drums, to find this danger
out.

BAST. And thou shalt find it, Dauphin, do not
doubt. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III.

The Same. A Field of Battle.

Alarums. Enter King JOHN and HUBERT.

K. JOHN. How goes the day with us ? O, tell me,
Hubert.

HUB. Badly, I fear : How fares your majesty ?

K. JOHN. This fever, that hath troubled me so
long,

⁹ A bare-ribb'd death,] So, in our author's Rape of Lucrece :
"Shows me a bare-bon'd death by time outworn."

Lies heavy on me ; O, my heart is sick !

Enter a Messenger.

MESS. My lord, your valiant kinsman, Faulconbridge,
Desires your majesty to leave the field ;
And send him word by me, which way you go.

K. JOHN. Tell him, toward Swinstead¹, to the abbey there.

MESS. Be of good comfort ; for the great supply,
That was expected by the Dauphin here,
Are wreck'd² three nights ago on Goodwin sands.
This news was brought to Richard³ but even now :
The French fight coldly, and retire themselves.

K. JOHN. Ah me ! this tyrant fever burns me up,
And will not let me welcome this good news.—
Set on toward Swinstead : to my litter straight ;
Weakness possesseth me, and I am faint.

[Exeunt.]

SCENE IV.

The Same. Another Part of the Same.

Enter SALISBURY, PEMBROKE, BIGOT, and Others.

SAL. I did not think the king so stor'd with friends.

PEN. Up once again ; put spirit in the French ;

¹ — Swinstead,] i. e. *Swineshead*, as I am informed by Mr. Dodd, the present vicar of that place. REED.

² — for the great SUPPLY—

ARE wreck'd —] *Supply* is here, and in a subsequent passage in Scene V. p. 360, used as a noun of multitude. MALONE.

³ — Richard —] *Sir Richard Faulconbridge* ;—and yet the King, a little before, (Act III. Sc. II.) calls him by his original name of *Philip*. STEEVENS.

The King calls him familiarly by his old name of Philip, but the messenger could not take the same liberty. MALONE.

If they miscarry, we miscarry too.

SAL. That misbegotten devil, Faulconbridge,
In spite of spite, alone upholds the day.

PEM. They say, king John, sore sick, hath left
the field.

Enter MELUN wounded, and led by Soldiers.

MEL. Lead me to the revolts of England here.

SAL. When we were happy, we had other names.

PEM. It is the count Melun.

SAL. Wounded to death.

MEL. Fly, noble English, you are bought and
sold⁴;

Unthread the rude eye of rebellion⁵,

⁴ — bought and sold;] This expression seems to have been proverbial; intimating that foul play has been used. It is used again in King Richard III. :

“Jocky of Norfolk be not too bold,

“For Dickon, thy master, is *bought and sold*.” MALONE.

It is used also in King Henry VI. Part I. Act IV. Sc. IV. and in The Comedy of Errors, Act III. Sc. I. STEEVENS.

⁵ UNTHREAD the rude EYE of rebellion,] Though all the copies concur in this reading, how poor is the metaphor of *unthreading* the *eye* of a *needle*? And besides, as there is no mention made of a needle, how remote and obscure is the allusion without it? The text, as I have restored it, is easy and natural; and it is the mode of expression which our author is every where fond of, to *tread* and *untread*, the *way*, *paths*, *steps*, &c. THEOBALD.

The metaphor is certainly harsh, but I do not think the passage corrupted. JOHNSON.

Mr. Theobald reads—*untread*; but Shakspeare, in King Lear, uses the expression, “*threading* dark ey'd night;” and Coriolanus says :

“Even when the navel of the state was touch'd,

“They would not *thread* the gates.”

This quotation, in support of the old reading, has also been adduced by Mr. M. Mason. STEEVENS.

Some one, observing on this passage, has been idle enough to suppose that the *eye* of *rebellion* was used like the *eye* of the *mind*, &c. Shakspeare's metaphor is of a much humbler kind. He was evidently thinking of the “*eye* of a *needle*.” Undo

And welcome home again discarded faith.
 Seek out king John, and fall before his feet ;
 For, if the French be lords of this loud day,
 He means ⁶ to recompense the pains you take,
 By cutting off your heads : Thus hath he sworn,
 And I with him, and many more with me,
 Upon the altar at Saint Edmund's-Bury ;
 Even on that altar, where we swore to you
 Dear amity and everlasting love.

SAL. May this be possible ? may this be true ?

MEL. Have I not hideous death within my view,
 Retaining but a quantity of life ;
 Which bleeds away, even as a form of wax
 Resolveth from his figure 'gainst the fire ?
 What in the world should make me now deceive,
 Since I must lose the use of all deceit ?
 Why should I then be false ; since it is true
 That I must die here, and live hence by truth ?
 I say again, if Lewis do win the day,
 He is forsworn, if e'er those eyes of yours
 Behold another day break in the east :

(says Melun to the English nobles) what you have done ; desert the rebellious project in which you have engaged. In Coriolanus we have a kindred expression :

"They would not *thread the gates*."

Our author is not always careful that the epithet which he applies to a figurative term should answer on both sides. *Rude* is applicable to *rebellion*, but not to *eye*. He means, in fact,—the eye of rude rebellion. MALONE.

⁶ HE means —] The Frenchman, i. e. Lewis, means, &c. See Melun's next speech : "If Lewis do win the day—."

MALONE.

⁷ — even as a FORM OF WAX

RESOLVETH, &c.] i. e. dissolveth. So, in Hamlet :

"Thaw and *resolve* itself into a dew." MALONE.

This is said in allusion to the images made by witches. Holinshed observes, that it was alledged against dame Eleanor Cobham and her confederates, "that they had devised "an image of wax," representing the king, which, by their sorcerie, by little and little consumed, intending thereby, in conclusion, to waste and destroy the king's person." STEEVENS.

But even this night,—whose black contagious
breath

Already smokes about the burning crest
Of the old, feeble, and day-wearied sun,—
Even this ill night, your breathing shall expire ;
Paying the fine of rated treachery⁸,
Even with a treacherous fine of all your lives,
If Lewis by your assistance win the day.
Commend me to one Hubert, with your king ;
The love of him,—and this respect besides,
For that my grandsire was an Englishman⁹,—
Awakes my conscience to confess all this.
In lieu whereof, I pray you, bear me hence
From forth the noise and rumour of the field ;
Where I may think the remnant of my thoughts
In peace, and part this body and my soul
With contemplation and devout desires.

SAL. We do believe thee,—And beshrew my soul
But I do love the favour and the form
Of this most fair occasion, by the which
We will untread the steps of damned flight ;
And, like a bated and retired flood,
Leaving our rankness and irregular course¹,
Stoop low within those bounds we have o'erlook'd,
And calmly run on in obedience,
Even to our ocean, to our great king John.—
My arm shall give thee help to bear thee hence ;

⁸ — *RATED* treachery,] It were easy to change *rated* to *hated*, for an easier meaning, but *rated* suits better with *fine*. The Dauphin has *rated* your treachery, and set upon it a *fine*, which your lives must pay. JOHNSON.

⁹ For that my grandsire was an Englishman,] This line is taken from the old play, printed in quarto, in 1591. MALONE.

¹ Leaving our *RANKNESS* and irregular course,] *Rank*, as applied to water, here signifies *exuberant*, *ready to overflow* ; as applied to the actions of the speaker and his party, it signifies *inordinate*. So, in our author's *Venus and Adonis* :

“ Rain added to a *river* that is *rank*,

“ Perforce will force it overflow the bank.” MALONE.

For I do see the cruel pangs of death
 Right in thine eye².—Away, my friends! New
 flight;
 And happy newness³, that intends old right.
 [*Exeunt, leading off* MELUN.]

SCENE V.

The Same. The French Camp.

Enter LEWIS and his Train.

LEW. The sun of heaven, methought, was loath
 to set;
 But stay'd, and made the western welkin blush,
 When the English measur'd⁴ backward their own
 ground,
 In faint retire: O, bravely came we off,
 When with a volley of our needless shot,
 After such bloody toil, we bid good night;
 And wound our tattering⁵ colours clearly up,

² RIGHT in thine eye.] This is the old reading. *Right* signifies *immediate*. It is now obsolete. Some commentators would read—*pight*, i. e. pitched as a tent is; others, "*Fight* in thine eye." STEEVENS.

³ — happy NEWNESS, &c.] Happy innovation, that purposed the restoration of the ancient rightful government. JOHNSON.

⁴ When the English MEASUR'D —] Old copy—When *English measure*, &c. Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁵ — tatter'd —] For *tatter'd*, the folio reads, *tottering*.

JOHNSON.

Tattering, which, in the spelling of our author's time, was *tottering*, is used for *tatter'd*. The active and passive participles are employed by him very indiscriminately. MALONE.

It is remarkable through such old copies of our author as I have hitherto seen, that wherever the modern editors read *tatter'd*, the old editions give us *totter'd* in its room. Perhaps the present broad pronunciation, almost peculiar to the Scots, was at that time common to both nations.

So, in Marlowe's King Edward II. 1598:

Last in the field, and almost lords of it !

Enter a Messenger.

MESS. Where is my prince, the Dauphin ?

LEW. Here :—What news ?

MESS. The count Melun is slain ; the English lords,

By his persuasion, are again fallen off :
And your supply, which you have wish'd so long,
Are cast away, and sunk, on Goodwin sands.

LEW. Ah, foul shrewd news !—Beshrew thy very heart !

I did not think to be so sad to-night,
As this hath made me.—Who was he, that said,
King John did fly, an hour or two before
The stumbling night did part our weary powers ?

MESS. Whoever spoke it, it is true, my lord.

LEW. Well ; keep good quarter⁶, and good care to-night ;

The day shall not be up so soon as I,
To try the fair adventure of to-morrow. [*Exeunt.*

“ This *tattered* ensign of my ancestors.”

Again :

“ As doth this water from my *totter'd* robes.”

Again, in *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, 1601 :

“ I will not bid my ensign-bearer wave

“ My *totter'd* colours in this worthless air.”

I read—*tatter'd*, an epithet which occurs again in *King Lear* and *Romeo and Juliet*. Of *tattering* (which would obviously mean *tearing to tatters*) our author's works afford no parallel.

STEEVENS.

Mr. Steevens says there is no parallel for this phraseology in our author's works ; but see his own note on *all-obeying*, in *Antony and Cleopatra*, vol. xii. p. 326, n. 8. BOSWELL.

⁶ — keep good QUARTER,] i. e. keep in your allotted posts or stations. So, in *Timon of Athens* :

“ ——— not a man

“ Shall pass his *quarter*.” STEEVENS.

SCENE VI.

An open Place in the Neighbourhood of Swinstead-Abbey.

Enter the Bastard and HUBERT, meeting.

HUB. Who's there? speak, ho! speak quickly,
or I shoot.

BAST. A friend:—What art thou?

HUB. Of the part of England

BAST. Whither dost thou go?

HUB. What's that to thee? Why may not I demand

Of thine affairs, as well as thou of mine?

BAST. Hubert, I think.

HUB. Thou hast a perfect thought⁷:
I will, upon all hazards, well believe
Thou art my friend, that know'st my tongue so well:
Who art thou?

BAST. Who thou wilt: an if thou please,
Thou may'st befriend me so much, as to think
I come one way of the Plantagenets.

HUB. Unkind remembrance! thou, and eyeless
night⁸,

⁷ — PERFECT thought:] i. e. a well-informed one. So, in Cymbeline:

“I am *perfect*;

“That the Pannonians,” &c. STEEVENS.

⁸ — thou, and EYELESS night,] The old copy reads—*endless*.
STEEVENS.

We should read *eyeless*. So, Pindar calls the moon, *the eye of night*. WARBURTON.

This epithet I find in Jarvis Markham's English Arcadia, 1607:

“O *eyeless* night, the portraiture of death!”

Again, in Gower, De Confessione Amantis, lib. v. fol. 102, b.:

“The daie made ende, and *lost* his sight,

“And comen was the darke night,

“The whiche all the daies *cic blent*.” STEEVENS.

Have done me shame :—Brave soldier, pardon me,
That any accent, breaking from thy tongue,
Should 'scape the true acquaintance of mine ear.

BAST. Come, come; sans compliment, what news
abroad ?

HUB. Why, here walk I, in the black brow of
night,
To find you out.

BAST. Brief, then ; and what's the news ?

HUB. O, my sweet sir, news fitting to the night,
Black, fearful, comfortless, and horrible.

BAST. Show me the very wound of this ill news ;
I am no woman, I'll not swoon at it.

HUB. The king, I fear, is poison'd by a monk⁹ :
I left him almost speechless, and broke out
To acquaint you with this evil ; that you might
The better arm you to the sudden time,

The emendation was made by Mr. Theobald. With Pindar our
author had certainly no acquaintance ; but, I believe, the correc-
tion is right. Shakspeare has, however, twice applied the epithet
endless to *night*, in King Richard II. :

“ Then thus I turn me from my country's light,

“ To dwell in solemn shades of *endless* night.”

Again :

“ My oil-dry'd lamp—

“ Shall be extinct with age and *endless* night.”

But in the latter of these passages a natural, and in the former, a
kind of civil, *death*, is alluded to. In the present passage the epi-
thet *endless* is inadmissible, because, if understood literally, it is
false. On the other hand, *eyeless* is peculiarly applicable. The
emendation is also supported by our author's Rape of Lucrece :

“ Poor grooms are *sightless* night ; kings, glorious day.”

MALONE.

⁹ The king, I fear, is poison'd by a monk :] Not one of the
historians who wrote within sixty years after the death of King
John, mentions this very improbable story. The tale is, that a
monk, to revenge himself on the king for a saying at which he took
offence, poisoned a cup of ale, and having brought it to his ma-
jesty, drank some of it himself, to induce the king to taste it, and
soon afterwards expired. Thomas Wykes is the first, who relates
it in his Chronicle, as a *report*. According to the best accounts,
John died at Newark, of a fever. MALONE.

Than if you had at leisure known of this ¹.

BAST. How did he take it? who did taste to him?

HUB. A monk, I tell you; a resolved villain,
Whose bowels suddenly burst out: the king
Yet speaks, and, peradventure, may recover.

BAST. Who didst thou leave to tend his majesty?

HUB. Why, know you not? the lords are all come
back,

And brought prince Henry in their company ²;
At whose request the king hath pardon'd them,
And they are all about his majesty.

BAST. Withhold thine indignation, mighty
heaven,

And tempt us not to bear above our power!——

I'll tell thee, Hubert, half my power this night,

Passing these flats, are taken by the tide,

These Lincoln washes have devoured them;

Myself, well-mounted, hardly have escap'd.

Away, before! conduct me to the king;

I doubt, he will be dead, or ere I come. [*Exeunt.*]

¹ ——— that you might

The better arm you to the sudden time,

Than if you had AT LEISURE known of this.] It appears to me,
that *at leisure* means *less speedily, after some delay.* M. MASON.

² Why, know you not? the lords, &c.] Perhaps we ought to
point thus:

“Why know you not, the lords are all come back,

“And brought prince Henry in their company?”

MALONE.

SCENE VII.

The Orchard of Swinstead-Abbey.

Enter Prince HENRY³, SALISBURY, and BIGOT.

P. HEN. It is too late ; the life of all his blood
Is touch'd corruptibly⁴ ; and his pure brain
(Which some suppose the soul's frail dwelling-
house,)
Doth, by the idle comments that it makes,
Foretell the ending of mortality.

Enter PEMBROKE.

PEM. His highness yet doth speak ; and holds
belief,
That, being brought into the open air,
It would allay the burning quality
Of that fell poison which assaileth him.

P. HEN. Let him be brought into the orchard
here.—

Doth he still rage ? *[Exit BIGOT.]*

PEM. He is more patient
Than when you left him ; even now he sung.

P. HEN. O vanity of sickness ! fierce extremes,
In their continuance⁵, will not feel themselves.
Death, having prey'd upon the outward parts,

³ — PRINCE HENRY,] This prince was only nine years old when his father died. STEEVENS.

⁴ Is touch'd CORRUPTIBLY ;] i. e. *corruptively*. Such was the phraseology of Shakspeare's age. So, in his Rape of Lucrece :

"The Romans *plausibly* did give consent —"
i. e. with acclamations. Here we should now say—*plausively*.

MALONE.

⁵ In THEIR continuance,] I suspect our author wrote—"In *thy* continuance." In his Sonnets the two words are frequently confounded. If the text be right, *continuance* means *continuity*. Bacon uses the word in that sense. MALONE.

Leaves them invisible ; and his siege is now
Against the mind⁶, the which he pricks and
wounds

With many legions of strange fantasies ;

⁶ Leaves them INVISIBLE ; and his siege is now

Against the mind,] As the word *invisible* has no sense in this passage, I have no doubt but the modern editors are right in reading *insensible*, which agrees with the two preceding lines :

“ ——— fierce extremes,

“ In their continuance, *will not feel* themselves.

“ Death, having prey'd upon the outward parts,

“ Leaves them *insensible* : his siege is now

“ Against the mind,” &c.

The last lines are evidently intended as a paraphrase, and confirmation of the two first. M. MASON.

Invisible is here used adverbially. Death, having glutted himself with the ravage of the almost wasted body, and knowing that the disease with which he has assailed it is mortal, before its dissolution, proceeds, from mere satiety, to attack the mind, leaving the body *invisibly* ; that is, in such a secret manner that the eye cannot *precisely* mark his progress, or see when his attack on the vital powers has ended, and that on the mind begins ; or, in other words, at what particular moment reason ceases to perform its function, and the understanding, *in consequence of a corroding and mortal malady*, begins to be disturbed. Our poet, in his *Venus and Adonis*, calls Death, “ *invisible* commander.”

Henry is here only pursuing the same train of thought which we find in his first speech in the present scene.

Our author has, in many other passages in his plays, used adjectives adverbially. So, in *All's Well That Ends Well* : “ Was it not meant *damnable* in us,” &c. Again, in *King Henry IV. Part I.* : “ — ten times more *dishonourable* ragged than an old faced ancient.” See vol. x. p. 438, n. 7, and *King Henry IV. Act IV. Sc. II.*

Mr. Rowe reads—*her* siege—, an error derived from the corruption of the second folio. I suspect, that this strange mistake was Mr. Gray's authority for making *Death* a female ; in which, I believe, he has neither been preceded, or followed, by any English poet :

“ The painful family of *Death*,

“ More hideous than their *queen*.”

The old copy, in the passage before us, reads—Against the *reind* ; an evident error of the press, which was corrected by Mr. Pope, and which I should scarcely have mentioned, but that it justifies an emendation made in *Measure for Measure*, [vol. ix. p. 72,

Which, in their throng and press to that last hold,

n. 2,] where, by a similar mistake, the word *flawes* appears in the old copy instead of *flames*. MALONE.

Mr. Malone reads :

“Death, having prey’d upon the outward parts,

“Leaves them *invisible* ;” &c.

As often as I am induced to differ from the opinions of a gentleman whose laborious diligence in the cause of Shakspeare is without example, I subject myself to the most unwelcome part of editorial duty. Success, however, is not, in every instance, proportionable to zeal and effort ; and he who shrinks from controversy, should also have avoided the *vestibulum ipsum, primasque fauces*, of the school of Shakspeare.

Sir Thomas Hanmer give us—*insensible*, which affords a meaning sufficiently commodious. But, as *invisible* and *insensible* are not words of exactest consonance, the legitimacy of this emendation has been disputed. It yet remains in my text, for the sake of those who discover no light through the ancient reading.

Perhaps (I speak without confidence) our author wrote—*invincible*, which, in sound, so nearly resembles *invisible*, that an inattentive compositor might have substituted the one for the other.—All our modern editors (Mr. Malone excepted) agree that *invincible*, in King Henry IV. Part II. Act III. Sc. II. was a misprint for *invisible* ; and so (*vice versa*) *invisible* may here have usurped the place of *invincible*.

If my supposition be admitted, the Prince must design to say, that Death had battered the royal outworks, but, seeing they were *invincible*, quitted them, and directed his force against the mind. In the present instance, the King of Terrors is described as a besieger, who, failing in his attempt to storm the bulwark, proceeded to undermine the citadel. Why else did he change his mode and object of attack?—The Spanish ordnance sufficiently *preyed* on the ramparts of Gibraltar, but still left them *impregnable*.—The same metaphor, though not continued so far, occurs again in Timon of Athens :

“———— Nature,

“To whom all sores lay *siege*.”

Again, in All’s Well That Ends Well :

“———— and yet my heart

“Will not confess he owes the malady

“That does my life *besiege*.”

Mr. Malone, however, gives a different turn to the passage before us ; and leaving the word *siege* out of his account, appears to represent Death as a gourmand, who had satiated himself with

Confound themselves⁷. 'Tis strange, that death
should sing.—

the King's body, and took his intellectual part by way of change of provision.

Neither can a complete acquiescence in the same gentleman's examples of adjectives used adverbially, be well expected; as they chiefly occur in light and familiar dialogue, or where the regular full-grown adverb was unfavourable to rhyme or metre. Nor indeed are these docked adverbs (which perform their office, like the witch's rat, "without a tail,") discoverable in any solemn narrative like that before us. A portion of them also might be no other than typographical imperfections; for this part of speech, shorn of its termination, will necessarily take the form of an adjective.—I may subjoin, that in the beginning of the present scene, the adjective *corruptible* is not offered as a *locum tenens* for the adverb *corruptibly*, though they were alike adapted to our author's measure.

It must, notwithstanding, be allowed, that adjectives employed adverbially are sometimes met with in the language of Shakspeare. Yet, surely, we ought not (as Polonius says) to "crack the wind of the poor phrase," by supposing its existence where it must operate equivocally, and provoke a smile, as on the present occasion.

That Death, therefore, "left the outward parts of the King *invisible*," could not, in my judgment, have been an expression hazarded by our poet in his most careless moment of composition. It conveys an idea too like the helmet of Orcus, in the fifth Iliad*, Gadshill's "receipt of fern-seed," Colonel Feignwell's *moros musphonon*, or the consequences of being bit by a *Seps*, as was a Roman soldier, of whom says our excellent translator of Lucan,

" — none was left, no least remains were seen,

" No marks to show that once a man had been."†

Besides, if the outward part (i. e. the body) of the expiring monarch was, in plain, familiar, and unqualified terms, pronounced to be *invisible*, how could those who pretended to have just *seen* it, expect to be believed? and would not an audience, uninitiated in the mystery of adverbial adjectives, on hearing such an account of the royal carcase, have exclaimed, like the Governor of Tilbury Fort, in *The Critic* :

" — thou canst not *see* it,

" Because 'tis *not in sight*."

But I ought not to dismiss the present subject, without a few words in defence of Mr. Gray, who had authority somewhat more

* Δὴν ἂν Ἀϊδὸς κινέην, ΜΗ ΜΙΝ ΙΔΟΙ ὀβριμὸς Ἀρης.

† Rowe, book ix. l. 1334.

I am the cygnet^s to this pale faint swan,
Who chants a doleful hymn to his own death ;

decisive than that of the persecuted second folio of Shakspeare, for representing *Death* as a *Woman*. The writer of the Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College, was sufficiently intimate with Lucretius, Horace, Ovid, Phædrus, Statius, Petronius, Seneca the dramatist, &c. to know that they *all* concurred in exhibiting *Mors* as a *Goddess*. Thus Lucan, lib. vi. 600 :

Elysias resera sedes, *ipsamque vocatam*,

Quos petat è nobis, *Mortem* tibi coge fateri.

Mr. Spence, in his *Polymetis*, p. 261, (I refer to a book of easy access,) has produced abundant examples in proof of my assertion, and others may be readily supplied. One comprehensive instance, indeed, will answer my present purpose. Statius, in his eighth *Thebaid*, describing a troop of ghastly females who surrounded the throne of Pluto, has the following lines :

Stant Furie circum, *varieque* ex ordine *Mortes*,

Sævaque multisonas exercet Pœna catenas.

From this group of personification, &c. it is evident, that not merely *Death*, as the source or principle of mortality, but each particular kind of death, was represented under a feminine shape. For want, therefore, of a corresponding masculine term, Dobson, in his Latin version of the second *Paradise Lost*, was obliged to render the terrific offspring of Satan, by the name of *Hades* ; a luckless necessity, because *Hades*, in the 964th line of the same book, exhibits a character completely discriminated from that of *Death*.

For the satisfaction of English antiquaries, let me add, that in an ancient poem (which in point of versification resembles the pieces of Longland) there is a contest for superiority between our *Lady Dame Life*, and the *ugly fiend Dame Death*.

Milton himself, however, in his second *Elegy*, has exhibited *Death* not only as a *female*, but as a *queen* :

Magna sepulchrorum *regina*, satelles Averni,

Sæva nimis Musis, Palladi sæva nimis.

See Mr. Warton's note on this passage. Consult also Milton's third *Elegy*, v. 16 :

Mors fera, Tartareo *diva* secunda Jovi.

Again, In Obitum Præsulis Eliensis :

Mors atra noctis *filia*.

Dryden, likewise, in his *Indian Queen*, Act II. Sc. I. has attributed the same sex to *Death* :

" — The gods can but destroy ;

" The noblest way to fly, is that *Death* shows ;

" I'll court *her* now, since victory's grown coy."

Were I inclined to be sportive, (a disposition which commenta-

And, from the organ-pipe of frailty, sings
His soul and body to their lasting rest.

SAL. Be of good comfort, prince; for you are
born
To set a form upon that indigest
Which he hath left so shapeless and so rude⁹.

tors should studiously repress,) might I not maintain, on the strength of the foregoing circumstances, that the editor of the folio 1632, (far from being an ignorant blunderer,) was well instructed in the niceties of Roman mythology; and might not my ingenious fellow-labourer, on the score of his meditated triumph over Mr. Gray, be saluted with such a remark as reached the ear of Cadmus?—

— Quid, Agenore nate, peremptum
Serpentem spectas? et tu spectabere serpens.

Fashionable as it is to cavil at the productions of our Cambridge poet, it has not yet been discovered that throughout the fields of classic literature, even in a single instance, he had mistook his way. STEEVENS.

7 With many legions of strange FANTASIES;
Which, in their THROG and PRESS to that last hold,
CONFOUND THEMSELVES.] So, in our author's Rape of Lu-
crece:

“Much like a *press* of people at a door,
“*Throng his inventions*, which shall go before.”

Again, in King Henry VIII.:

“— which forc'd such way,
“That many maz'd *considerings did throng*,
“And *press* in, with this caution.” MALONE.

“— in their *throng* and *press* to that last hold.” In their tumult and hurry of resorting to the last tenable part. JOHNSON.

⁸ I am the CYGNET—] Old copy—*Symet*. Corrected by Mr. Pope. MALONE.

⁹ — YOU ARE BORN

To set a form upon that indigest
Which he hath left so shapeless and so rude.] A description
of the Chaos almost in the very words of Ovid:

Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles. *Met.* i.
WHALLEY.

“Which Chaos hight, a huge *rude* heap:—

“No sunne as yet with lightsome beames the *shapeless* world
did view.” *Golding's Translation*, 1587. MALONE.

Re-enter BIGOT and Attendants, who bring in King JOHN in a Chair.

K. JOHN. Ay, marry, now my soul hath elbow-room;

It would not out at windows, nor at doors.
There is so hot a summer in my bosom,
That all my bowels crumble up to dust :
I am a scribbled form, drawn with a pen
Upon a parchment ; and against this fire
Do I shrink up.

P. HEN. How fares your majesty ?

K. JOHN. Poison'd,—ill-fare¹ ;—dead, forsook,
cast off :

And none of you will bid the winter come²,
To thrust his icy fingers in my maw³ ;

¹ Poison'd,—ill-fare ;] Mr. Malone supposes *fare* to be here used as a dissyllable, like *fire*, *hour*, &c. But as this word has not concurring vowels in it, like *hour*, or *fair*, nor was ever dissyllabically spelt (like *fier*) *faer* ; I had rather suppose the present line imperfect, than complete it by such unprecedented means.

STEEVENS.

² This scene has been imitated by Beaumont and Fletcher, in *The Wife for a Month*, Act IV. STEEVENS.

³ To thrust his icy fingers in my maw ;] Decker, in *The Gul's Hornbook*, 1609, has the same thought : “—the morning waxing cold, thrust his frosty fingers into thy bosome.”

Again, in a pamphlet entitled *The Great Frost, Cold Doings*, &c. in London, 1608 : “The cold hand of winter is thrust into our bosoms.” STEEVENS.

The corresponding passage in the old play runs thus :

“ Philip, some drink. O, for the frozen Alps

“ To tumble on, and cool this inward heat,

“ That rageth as a furnace seven-fold hot.”

There is so strong a resemblance, not only in the thought, but in the expression, between the passage before us and the following lines in two of Marlowe's plays, that we may fairly suppose them to have been in our author's thoughts :

“ O, I am dull, and the cold hand of sleep

“ Hath thrust his icy fingers in my breast

“ And made a frost within me.” *Lust's Dominion*.

Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course
Through my burn'd bosom; nor entreat the north
To make his bleak winds kiss my parched lips,
And comfort me with cold:—I do not ask you
much ⁴,

I beg cold comfort; and you are so strait ⁵,
And so ingrateful, you deny me that.

P. HEN. O, that there were some virtue in my
tears,
That might relieve you!

K. JOHN. The salt in them is hot.—
Within me is a hell; and there the poison
Is, as a fiend, confin'd to tyrannize
On unreprievable condemned blood.

Enter the Bastard.

BAST. O, I am scalded with my violent motion,
And spleen of speed to see your majesty.

K. JOHN. O cousin, thou art come to set mine
eye:

The tackle of my heart is crack'd and burn'd;
And all the shrouds, wherewith my life should sail,
Are turned to one thread, one little hair:
My heart hath one poor string to stay it by,
Which holds but till thy news be uttered;

Again:

"O, poor Zabina, O my queen, my queen,
"Fetch me some water for my burning breast,
"To cool and comfort me with longer date."

Tamburlaine, 1591.

Lust's Dominion, like many of the plays of that time, remained unpublished for a great number of years, and was first printed in 1657, by Francis Kirkman, a bookseller. It must, however, have been written before 1593, in which year Marlowe died. MALONE.

⁴ — I do not ask you much,] We should read, for the sake of metre, with Sir T. Hanmer—"I ask not much." STEEVENS.

⁵ — SO STRAIT,] i. e. narrow, avaricious; an unusual sense of the word. STEEVENS.

And then all this thou see'st is but a clod,
And module of confounded royalty⁷.

BAST. The Dauphin is preparing hitherward ;
Where, heaven he knows, how we shall answer him :
For, in a night, the best part of my power,
As I upon advantage did remove,
Were in the washes, all unwarily,
Devoured by the unexpected flood⁸.

[*The King dies.*

SAL. You breathe these dead news in as dead an
ear.—

My liege ! my lord !—But now a king,—now thus.

P. HEN. Even so must I run on, and even so stop.
What surety of the world, what hope, what stay,
When this was now a king, and now is clay !

BAST. Art thou gone so ? I do but stay behind,
To do the office for thee of revenge ;
And then my soul shall wait on thee to heaven,
As it on earth hath been thy servant still.—
Now, now, you stars, that move in your rightspheres,
Where be your powers ? Show now your mended
faiths ;

And instantly return with me again,
To push destruction, and perpetual shame,
Out of the weak door of our fainting land :

⁷ And MODULE of confounded royalty.] *Module* and *model*, it has been already observed, were, in our author's time, only different modes of spelling the same word. *Model* signified not an archetype after which something was to be formed, but the thing formed after an archetype ; and hence it is used by Shakspeare and his contemporaries for a *representation*. So, in *The London Prodigal*, 1605 :

“ Dear copy of my husband ! O let me kiss thee !

[*Kissing a picture.*

“ How like him is this *model* ? ” MALONE.

⁸ Were in the washes, all unwarily, &c.] This untoward accident really happened to King John himself. As he passed from Lynn to Lincolnshire, he lost by an inundation all his treasure, carriages, baggage, and regalia. MALONE.

Straight let us seek, or straight we shall be sought ;
The Dauphin rages at our very heels.

SAL. It seems, you know not then so much as we :
The cardinal Pandulph is within at rest,
Who half an hour since came from the Dauphin ;
And brings from him such offers of our peace
As we with honour and respect may take,
With purpose presently to leave this war.

BAST. He will the rather do it, when he sees
Ourselves well sinewed to our defence.

SAL. Nay, it is in a manner done already ;
For many carriages he hath despatch'd
To the sea-side, and put his cause and quarrel
To the disposing of the cardinal :
With whom yourself, myself, and other lords,
If you think meet, this afternoon will post
To consummate this business happily.

BAST. Let it be so :—And you, my noble prince,
With other princes that may best be spar'd,
Shall wait upon your father's funeral.

P. HEN. At Worcester must his body be interr'd⁹ ;
For so he will'd it.

BAST. Thither shall it then.
And happily may your sweet self put on
The lineal state and glory of the land !
To whom, with all submission, on my knee,
I do bequeath my faithful services
And true subjection everlastingly.

SAL. And the like tender of our love we make,
To rest without a spot for evermore.

⁹ At Worcester must his body be interr'd ;] A stone coffin, containing the body of King John, was discovered in the cathedral church of Worcester, July 17, 1797. STEEVENS.

“ In crastino Sancti Lucæ Johannes Rex Angliæ in castro de Newark obiit, et sepultus est in ecclesia Wigorniensis inter corpora sancti Oswaldi et sancti [Wolstani. *Chronic. sive Annal. Prioratus de Dunstaple*, edit. a Tho. Hearne, tom. i. p. 173. GREY.

P. HEN. I have a kind soul, that would give you¹
thanks,

And knows not how to do it, but with tears.

BAST. O, let us pay the time but needful woe,
Since it hath been beforehand with our griefs².—
This England never did, (nor never shall,)
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.
Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them: Nought shall make us
rue,

If England to itself do rest but true³. [*Exeunt*⁴.

¹ — that would give you—] *You*, which is not in the old copy, was added, for the sake of the metre, by Mr. Rowe.

MALONE.

² — let us pay the time but needful woe,

Since it hath been beforehand with our griefs.] Let us now indulge in sorrow, since there is abundant cause for it. England has been long in a scene of confusion, and its calamities have anticipated our tears. By those which we now shed, we only *pay* her what is her due. MALONE.

I believe the plain meaning of the passage is this:—‘As previously we have found sufficient cause for lamentation, let us not waste the present time in superfluous sorrow.’ STEEVENS.

³ If England to itself do rest but true.] This sentiment seems borrowed from the conclusion of the old play:

“If England’s peers and people join in one,

“Nor pope, nor France, nor Spain, can do them wrong.”

Again, in King Henry VI. Part III.:

“—— of itself

“England is safe, *if true within itself*.”

Such also was the opinion of the celebrated Duc de Rohan: “L’Angleterre est un grand animal qui ne peut jamais mourir s’il ne se tue lui même.” STEEVENS.

Shakspeare’s conclusion seems rather to have been borrowed from these two lines of the old play:

“*Let England live but true within itself*,

“And all the world can never wrong her state.” MALONE.

“Brother, brother, we may be both in the wrong.” This sentiment might originate from A Discourse of Rebellion, drawne

forth for to warne the Wanton Wittes how to kepe their Heads on their Shoulders, by T. Churchyard, 12mo. 1570 :

“ O Britayne bloud, marke this at my desire—

“ If that you sticke together as you ought

“ This lyttle yle may set the world at nought.”

STEEVENS.

This sentiment may be traced still higher : Andrew Borde, in his Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge, bl. l. printed for Copland, sig. A 4, says, “ They (i. e. the English) fare sumptuously ; God is served in their churches devoutli, but treason and deceit amonge them is used craftly, the more pitie, *for if they were true wythin themselves they nede not to feare although al nacions were set against them*, specialli now consydering our noble prince (i. e. Henry VIII.) hath and dayly dothe make noble defences, as castells,” &c.

Again, in Fuimus Troes, 1633 :

“ Yet maugre all, if we *ourselves are true*,

“ *We may despise what all the earth can do.*” REED.

* The tragedy of King John, though not written with the utmost power of Shakspeare, is varied with a very pleasing interchange of incidents and characters. The lady's grief is very affecting ; and the character of the Bastard contains that mixture of greatness and levity which this author delighted to exhibit.

JOHNSON.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
THE INCIDENTS,
FROM WHICH
THE TITLE AND PART OF THE STORY
OF
Shakspeare's Tempest
WERE DERIVED;
AND ITS TRUE DATE ASCERTAINED.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

At the commencement of this volume, I have inadvertently retained Mr. Malone's reference to his Essay on the Chronological Order of Shakspeare's Plays, for a full exposition of the theory contained in the following pages. But, upon further consideration, it appeared to me, that it would be more for the convenience of the reader, if this Essay, like the Dissertation on the Three Parts of Henry VI. should be found in the same volume with the play, of which it not only is intended to fix the date ; but which in other respects it is calculated to illustrate. It was drawn up some years ago, by Mr. Malone ; and at that time he printed a limited number of copies, which he presented to his friends, and literary acquaintance. One of them, under circumstances which were by no means honourable to its possessor, who has since made himself too well known by a posthumous publication full of falsehood and malignity, but whom the grave shall shelter from further reproach, was sold at an auction, and purchased by Mr. George Chalmers. This gentleman, of whom it may be said, as by Johnson of Jeremy Collier, (I write it without the slightest disrespect) that "contest is his delight," lost no time in putting together the arguments by which

he thought Mr. Malone's theory might be controverted. I cannot think he was successful in his efforts; but as his pamphlet was privately printed, and bore on its title-page that it was "not published, nor intended to be;" I should not think myself justified in making it the subject of discussion.

BOSWELL.

MR. MALONE'S ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Account of the circumstances attending the storm by which Sir George Somers was shipwrecked on the island of Bermuda, in the year 1609, which unquestionably gave rise to Shakspeare's *TEMPEST*, and suggested to him the title, as well as some incidents, of that admirable comedy, was written some years ago, and shown to a highly valued friend *, whose literary attainments and love of curious inquiry always incline him to lend a favourable ear to the researches of others.

The immediate connexion between Shakspeare's play and the tempest above alluded to, not having been noticed by any preceding editor or commentator, I conceived this discovery, which forms the subject of the following pages, to be exclusively my own; but the Observations on this poet by a learned and ingenious critick †, which have been

* James Bindley, Esq. of the Stamp Office, one of Mr. Malone's most intimate and most valued friends. His zeal for literature, his indefatigable spirit of inquiry, his accurate knowledge, his amenity of temper, and benevolence of heart, made him the delight of all who knew him. He died at the advanced age of eighty. September 11th, 1818. BOSWELL.

† Mr. Douce. I subjoin this gentleman's observations on this subject from his valuable work, *ILLUSTRATIONS OF SHAKSPEARE*: &c.

“The Voyage of Sir George Sommers to the Bermudas in the year 1609 has been already noticed with a view of ascertaining

published within these few days, have shown me my mistake in this respect, the same notion having also struck the author of that valuable and entertaining work. That gentleman, however, whose remarks abundantly evince that his candour is equal to his learning and judgment, I doubt not, will be pleased to find his statement on this subject strengthened and confirmed by authentick evidence, and the true date of this delightful comedy indisputably ascertained.

FOLEY PLACE,
January 12, 1808.

the *time* in which *The Tempest* was written; but the important particulars of his *shipwreck*, from which it is exceedingly probable that the outline of a considerable part of this play was borrowed, has been unaccountably overlooked. Several contemporary narratives of the above event were published, which Shakespeare might have consulted; and the conversation of the time might have furnished, or at least suggested, some particulars that are not to be found in any of the printed accounts. In 1610 Silvester Jourdan, an eye-witness, published *A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Isle of Divels: By Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Geo. Sommers, and Captayne Newport, with divers others.* Next followed Strachey's *Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia, 1612, 4to.* and some other pamphlets of less moment. From these accounts it appears that the Bermudas had never been inhabited, but regarded as *under the influence of enchantment*; though an addition to a subsequent edition of Jourdan's work gravely states that they are *not enchanted*; that Sommers's ship had been *split* between two rocks; that during his stay on the island several *conspiracies* had taken place; and that a *sea-monster in shape like a man* had been seen, who had been so called after the *monstrous tempests* that often happened at Bermuda. In Stowe's

Annals we have also an account of Sommers's shipwreck, in which this important passage occurs, "Sir George Sommers sitting at the stearne, seeing the ship desperate of reliefe, looking every minute when the ship would sinke, hee espied land, which according to his and Captaine Newport's opinion, they judged it should be that dreadfull coast of the *Bermodes*, which iland were of all nations said and supposed to bee *enchanted and inhabited with witches and devills*, which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunder, storm, and *tempest*, neere unto those ilands, also for that the whole coast is so wonderous dangerous of rockes, that few can approach them, but with unspeakable hazard of *ship-wrack*." Now if some of these circumstances in the shipwreck of Sir George Sommers be considered, it may possibly turn out that *they* are "the particular and recent event which determined Shakspeare to call his play *The Tempest*," instead of "the great tempest of 1612," which has already been supposed to have suggested its name, and which might have happened after its composition. If this be the fact, the play was written between 1609 and 1614, when it was so illiberally and invidiously alluded to in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew-Fair*."

BOSWELL.



AN
ACCOUNT
OF
THE INCIDENTS, ETC.

THE TEMPEST, 1611.

IN the Essay on the Chronological Order of Shakspeare's Plays, published in 1790, I observed, that probably some particular and late misfortune at sea gave rise to the comedy now under our consideration, and induced our poet to denominate it *THE TEMPEST*. On further investigation of this subject, and after perusing some curious and very scarce tracts of that time, which I had not then seen, I have no doubt that my conjecture was perfectly well founded, and that the leading circumstance of this play, from which its title is derived, was suggested to Shakspeare by a recent disaster, which doubtless engaged much of the conversation of his contemporaries,—the dreadful hurricane that dispersed the fleet of Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, in July 1609, on their passage with a large supply of provisions and men for the infant colony in Virginia; by which the Admiral ship, as

it was called, having those commanders on board, was separated from the rest of the fleet, and wrecked on the island of Bermuda. The principal circumstances indeed correspond so precisely, that at the first view it may appear strange, that the true origin of this comedy was not long since found out ; but the wonder on that head will cease, when it is considered how very difficult it is to ascertain the minute particulars of an event that happened near two hundred years ago, and that accident alone can furnish us with the volumes which composed Shakspeare's library. Without the aid of those tracts in which the various circumstances of this misadventure were related, the resemblance between certain passages in the play and the archetype on which it was formed, could not be discovered. I may add, that our poet himself also, in some measure, contributed to lead the most sedulous inquirer astray, by very properly making the scene of his piece an island at a considerable distance from Bermuda, in order to give the magical part of his drama a certain mysterious dignity which Bermuda itself, then the general topick of conversation, could not have had. Without having read Tacitus, he well knew that OMNE IGNOTUM PRO MAGNIFICO EST ; that an unknown island would give a larger scope to his imagination, and make a greater impression on theatrical spectators, than one of which the more enlightened part of his audience had recently read a minute and circumstantial account.—Unquestionably, however, the

circumstance of Bermuda's having been considered an enchanted island gave rise to the magick of *THE TEMPEST*, and was immediately in his thoughts during its composition.

Our poet's great patron, the Earl of Southampton, had early shown a strong disposition to encourage voyages of discovery ; in which a principal motive that actuated him and other distinguished persons of those times, seems to have been the hope of civilizing and converting the savages of remote countries to Christianity. In the year 1605, in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Lord Arundel, of Wardour, he had fitted out a ship under the command of Captain George Weymouth, with a view to make discoveries on the coast of Virginia. On what part of the large district which then bore that name he landed, is not exactly known ; but a very intelligent writer supposes that he sailed up the river of Connecticut. His stay, however, was very short: for after having for some time explored the country, and carried on some traffick with the natives, from whom he had taken five Indians as hostages during his intercourse with them, finding reason to believe that some treachery was intended towards him, he speedily set sail for England, where he arrived on the 18th of July, after an absence of about three months ; bringing with him the Indians above-mentioned. Two of those savages, *NAMONTACK* and *MACHUMPS*, lived to sail for their own country with Sir George Somers in 1609 ; another, named *TANTUM*, sailed for Virginia with Captain

Smith in 1614 ; and the other two probably died in London, and one of them (or some other Indian) was exhibited as a show after his death, a circumstance to which Shakspeare has alluded in the second act of this comedy, Sc. II. ; and which, though then unacquainted with these particulars, I formerly suggested, as likely to contribute some aid in fixing the date of *THE TEMPEST*: but if even the day of the death of either of them were known, it would only ascertain a time *before* which the play could not have been composed, unless it were shewn that some Indian had previously died, and been exhibited in London ; and I am now not under the necessity of having recourse to such uncertain grounds of conjecture, as I shall be able to point out the precise period when this beautiful comedy was written and first represented.

In 1608, Captain Harlow was sent to Cape Cod by Lord Southampton and some of the inhabitants of the isle of Wight, of which he was Governour, and brought back with him five Indians, one of whom was named *EPINEW*, or *EPINOW*, a man of extraordinary stature and strength, who was exhibited for money in various parts of London.

I have mentioned the voyages of Captains Weymouth and Harlow, because they were undertaken partly at the charge of Lord Southampton, and must on that account alone have attracted our poet's notice, and drawn his attention to the colonial projects that took place at this period. Men's thoughts indeed were then so strongly directed

towards the new world, that the successes and mis-carriages of the several adventurers who went there could not but have been a very general topick of conversation, as is evinced by the various publication those subjects *.

* 1. A briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia, being a most pleasant, fruitfull, and commodious soile, made this present yeere 1602, by Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold, Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, and divers other gentlemen their associates, by the permission of the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. written by Mr. John Brereton, one of the voyage. 4to. 1662.

2. A prosperous Voyage on the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia. By Captain George Weymouth. 4to. 1605.

3. Nova Britannia, offering most excellent Fruits by planting in Virginia. 4to. 1609.—This tract was entered in the Stationers' Register, Feb. 17, 1608-9.

4. A good Speed to Virginia. By Robert Gray. Entered in the Stationers' Register, May 3, 1609.

5. A Sermon preached in London before the Right Hon. Lord Delaware, Lord Gov'nor and Captayn Gen'rall of Virginia, and others of his Ma'ties Councell for that Kingdome, 21st of Feb. last, entitled, A Newe Year's Gifte to Virginia." Entered in the Stationers' Register, March 19, 1609-10.

6. Newes from Bermudas. This tract, which I have never seen, appears to have been that set forth by Thomas Gates, and was probably published in September or October 1610. My knowledge of the title is obtained from a manuscript marginal note in an old hand, in one of the pamphlets relative to Virginia, in the collection of my friend, Mr. Bindley.

7. Virginia News :—published before Oct. 1st, 1610, as appears by an assignment of that date, in the Stationers' Register.

I am not sure that this and the next are not the same pamphlet.

8. A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Isle of Divells, &c. by Sil. Jourdan, 1to. 1610. Republished with additions, in 1613.

A new charter having been granted in May 1609, to the Company for making a plantation and settlement in Virginia, it was resolved by the Treasurer and Council of that Company to send thither immediately a large supply of men and provisions. Of the disaster which befell the fleet employed on that occasion, the following clear and succinct ac-

9. A true Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise. Published by advise and direction of the Councel of Virginia, 4to. 1610. Entered in the Stationers' Register, Nov. 8, 1610.

10. The Relation of the Right Honourable the Lord De-la-Ware, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall of the colonie planted in Virginea, 4to. 1612. Entered in the Stationers' Registers, by W. Welby, 1611, under the following title :

The Relac'on of the Right Hon'ble the Lord Delaware, Lord Gove'nour of the Colony planted in Virginia, made to the LL. and others of the Counsell of Virginia, touchinge his unexpected returne home, &c. and afterwards delivered in the gen'rall assembly of the sayd Councell at a Courte holden the 25th of June, 1611 ; published by order of the sayd Councell.

11. A Ballad, called *THE LAST NEWS FROM VIRGINIA*, being an Encouragement to all others to follow that noble Enterprise, &c. Entered in the Stationers' Register by John Wright, August 16, 1611.

12. The New Life of Virginea, declaring the former Success and present Estate of that Plantation.

13. The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia, from 1606 to the present Year 1612. By W. S. [W. Strachey.] 4to. 1612.

This list, I believe, is far from being complete.

In a letter written to the Earl of Shrewsbury, June 8, 1609, Dr. Tobias Mathew, Archbishop of York, says,—“ Of Virginia there be so many tractates, divine, humane, historicall, politicall, or call them as you please, as no further intelligence I dare desire.” Lodge's Illustrations, &c. iii. 371.

count has been given by a very sensible modern historian. To his narrative I shall subjoin the more minute and particular relation of one engaged in this adventure, as well as that printed by authority of the Council; which will fully shew that the incidents attending it suggested to Shakspeare the leading circumstance of this comedy :

“ The New Charter,” says the Reverend Mr. Stith, “ was granted to the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, SOUTHAMPTON, Pembroke, and other peers, to the number of twenty-one; to the Honourable George Percy and Francis West, Esquires; to Sir Humphrey Weld, Lord Mayor of London, and ninety-eight other knights; and to Dr. Mathew Sutcliff, with a great multitude more of doctors, esquires, gentlemen, officers, merchants and citizens, together with many corporations and companies of London. So many persons of great power, interest, and fortune, engaging in the enterprise, and the Lord Delaware with the other gentlemen of distinction being appointed to the several offices [of Captain General, &c.] soon drew in such large sums of money, that they dispatched away Sir Thomas Gates, [who had been constituted by the Council for Virginia, Lieutenant-General,] Sir George Somers, [Admiral,] and Captain Newport, [Vice-Admiral,] with nine ships and five hundred people. These three gentlemen had each of them a commission,—who first arrived to call in the old. But because they could not agree for place, it was concluded that they should all go in one ship, called

the SEA-VENTURE. They sailed from England the latter end of May *, 1609 ; but the 25th of July the ADMIRAL-SHIP WAS PARTED FROM THE REST OF THE FLEET by the tail of a hurricane, having on board the three commanders, an hundred and fifty men, their new commission and bills of lading, together with all manner of instructions and directions, and the best part of their provisions. She arrived not, but was foundered at Bermudas, as shall be hereafter related. A small catch likewise perished in the hurricane ; but the seven other ships came safe" [to Virginia.] †.

* * * * *

" It hath been before said (continues the historian) that the Admiral-ship, with Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, on board was separated from the rest of the fleet in a storm. She was so racked and torn by the violent working of the sea, and became so shattered and leaky, that the water rose in the hold above two tire of hogsheads ; and they were obliged to stand up to their middles, with kettles, buckets, and other vessels to bail it out. And thus they bailed and pumped three days and nights, without intermission ; and yet the water seemed rather to gain upon them than decrease. At last, all being utterly spent with labour, and seeing no hope, in

* This is not quite correct. They sailed in fact, as will be seen hereafter, on the 8th of June.

† History of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia, by William Stith, A. M. 8vo. 1747, pp. 101, 102.

man's apprehension, but of presently sinking, THEY RESOLVED TO SHUT UP THE HATCHES, and to commit themselves to the mercy of the sea, and GOD's good providence. In this dangerous and desperate state, some who had good and comfortable waters, fetched them, and drank to one another, as TAKING THEIR LAST LEAVES, till a more happy and joyful meeting in the other world. But it pleased GOD in his most gracious providence, so to guide their ship to her best advantage, that they were all preserved and came safe to shore.

“ For Sir George Somers had sat all this time upon the poop, scarce allowing himself leisure either to eat or sleep, cunning the ship*, and keeping her upright, or she must otherwise, long before this, have foundered. As he there sat looking wishfully about, he most happily and unexpectedly descried land. This welcome news, as if it had been a voice from heaven, hurried them all above hatches, to see what they could scarce believe. But thereby improvidently forsaking their work, they gave such an advantage to their greedy enemy, the sea, that they were very nigh being swallowed up. But none were now to be urged to do his best. Although they knew it to be BERMUDAS, a place then dreaded and shunned by all men, yet they spread all the sail, and did every thing else, in their power, to reach the land. It was not long before the ship STRUCK UPON A ROCK, but a surge of the sea cast

* To *cunn* a ship is to direct the person at the helm how to steer her. KERSEY.

her from thence, and so from one to another, till she was MOST LUCKILY THROWN UP BETWEEN TWO, AS UPRIGHT AS IF SHE HAD BEEN ON THE STOCKS. And now the danger was, lest the billows overtaking her, should in an instant have dashed and shivered her to pieces. But all on a sudden the wind lay, and gave place to a calm, and the sea became so peaceable and still, that with the greatest conveniency and ease they unshipped all their goods, victuals, and people, and in their boats, with extreme joy, almost to amazement, ARRIVED IN SAFETY WITHOUT THE LOSS OF A MAN, although more than a league from the shore *.

“ How these islands came by the name of BERMUDAS is not certainly agreed. Some say, that they were so named after John Bermudaz, a Spaniard, who first discovered them about the year 1522. Others report, that a Spanish ship called THE BERMUDAS was cast away upon them, as she was carrying hogs to the West-Indies; which swam ashore and increased to incredible numbers. But they had been in all times before infamous and terrible to mariners, for the wreck of many Spanish, Dutch, and French vessels. They were therefore, with the usual elegance of the sea style, by many called THE ISLE OF DEVILS, and were esteemed the hell or purgatory of seamen, the most dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorn place in the world.

* One of the persons on board, whose narrative will be hereafter quoted, says, “ only half a mile.”

“ But the safe arrival of this company is not more strange and providential, than their feeding and support was beyond all their hope or expectation: for they found it *the richest, pleasantest, and most healthful place they had ever seen*. Being safe on shore, they dispersed themselves, some to search the islands for food and water, and others to get ashore what they could, from the ship. Sir George Somers had not ranged far, before he found such a fishery, that in half an hour he took with a hook and line as many as sufficed the whole company. In some places they were so thick in the coves, and so big, that they were afraid to venture in amongst them.—Two of these rock-fish would have loaded a man, neither could any where be found fatter or more excellent fish than they were. Besides, there were infinite numbers of mullets, pilchards, and other small fry; and by making a fire in the night they would take vast quantities of large craw-fish. As for hogs, they found them in that abundance, that at their first hunting they killed thirty-two. And there were likewise multitudes of excellent birds in their seasons; and the greatest facility to make their cabins with palm-leaf leaves. This caused them to live in such plenty, ease, and comfort, that many forgot all other places, and never desired to return from thence *.”

Such is the narrative collected from authentick papers of those times, and published at Williams-

* Ibid. pp. 113, 114.

burg, about sixty years ago, by the historian of Virginia, which I have thought it proper to lay before the reader in the first instance, because it describes this misadventure in a very lively manner, and is extremely well written. But from these facts, it must be acknowledged, no satisfactory and decisive conclusion can be drawn respecting the date of this play, unless it can be shewn that they were known by Shakspeare. I shall therefore proceed to state not only how, but when, he became acquainted with the peculiar circumstances attending this disaster, to which he has alluded in *THE TEMPEST*; so as by this means, with the aid of other documents, to ascertain precisely the time of its composition.

It has already been mentioned that seven ships of Sir George Somers's fleet got to the place of their destination, Virginia. Having landed about three hundred and fifty persons, they set sail for their own country. Two of them were wrecked and perished on the point of Ushant; and "the rest of the fleet (says a writer of those times) returned to England in 1610, ship after ship, laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement; and, which added the more to our crosse, they brought us newes, that the *ADMIRAL-SHIP*, with the two knights and Captain Newport, were missing, severed in a mightie storme outward, and could not be heard of, which we therefore yeilded as lost for many moneths together; and so that *VIRGINE* voyage, as I may terme it, which

went out smiling on her lovers with pleasant looks, after her wearie travailes did thus return with a rent and disfigured face, for which how justly her friends took occasion of sorrow, and others to insult and scoffe, let men of reason judge *."

The account of this disaster probably reached England some time in December 1609, and was brought either by Captain Smith, the former Governor of Virginia, who left it at Michaelmas in that year, or by the first of the five ships that arrived in an English port. To dispel the gloom which this ill news spread among the undertakers who had fitted out the fleet, the Council of Virginia very speedily issued out a pamphlet, which was published either in December 1609, or early in January 1609-10, with a view of preventing the bad effects that any exaggerated reports of this calamity might produce.

In this piece, after stating that Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, with seven ships and two pinnaces, sailed from Falmouth on the 8th of June [1609], they add, that "in the height of the Canaries, short of the West-Indies 150 leagues, on St. James's day, a TERRIBLE TEMPEST overtook them, and lasted in extremity forty-eight hours, which scattered the whole fleet, and wherein some of them spent their masts, and others were much distressed." Within three days, (they say in substance) *four of the fleet met in consort*, and

* The New Life of Virginia, 4to. 1612.

hearing no news of the Admiral, they bore away for the bay of Virginia, and arrived in the King's River on the 11th of August. In eleven days afterwards arrived two more ; they having resolved to steer, not for Barwada, (as originally determined in case of separation,) but for that harbour ; " which," (say the Council) " doubtless the Admiral himself did not observe, but obeyed his own directions, and is the true or probable cause of his being cast so far into suspicion ; where [whereas] *perhaps* bound in with winde, or perhaps enforced to stay the masting or mending somewhat in his ship, torn or lost in the TEMPEST, we doubt not but by the mercy of GOD hee is safe, with the pinnace * which attended him, and shall both, or are by this time arrived at our colony."

Not long afterwards (this tract informs us) one of the pinnaces arrived in the river or bay of Virginia ; making seven out of the nine vessels that had sailed from England. Four hundred persons were landed from the several ships ; " who being put ashore without their Governour or any order from him, (all the commissioners and principal persons being aboard him,) no man would acknowledge a superior, nor could from this headlesse and unbridled multitude be any thing expected but disorder and ryot, nor any counsell prevent or foresee the successe of these wayes."

Still further to dispel the gloom which had arisen

* This pinnace, which Mr. Stith calls a small CATCH, was lost.

on this failure, after stating the difficulties the Spaniards had experienced in similar settlements, the Council add,—“ But to come hence to our purpose : That which seems to dishearten or shake our first grounds in this supplye, ariseth from two principal sources, of which one was the cause of the other ; first, THE TEMPEST ; and can any man expect to answer for that ? next, the absence of the Governor, (an effect of the former,) *for the* LOSS OF HIM IS IN SUSPENSE, and much reason of his safetye against some doubt ; and the hand of GOD reacheth all the earth.”

They further inform the publick, that to redeem the defects and misadventures of the last supply, they had resolved to send forth the Lord De la Ware as Governor, by the last of January [1609-10]*.

* “ A true and sincere Declaration of the purpose and ends of the plantation begun in Virginia, of the degrees which it hath received, and meanes by which it hath been advanced ; and the resolution and conclusion of his Majesties Council of that Colony, for the constant and patient prosecution thereof, untill by the mercies of GOD it shall retribute a fruitfull harvest to the kingdom of heaven and this commonwealth. Set forth by the authority of the Governors and Councillors established for that plantation.” 4to. 1610. This pamphlet was entered in the Stationers’ Register by John Stepney on the 14th of December 1609, and was licensed by the Lord De la Ware, Sir Thomas Smith, [the Treasurer of the Company,] Sir Walter Cope, and Mr. Waterson, Warden of the Stationers’ Company ; and though, according to the custom of booksellers, with a forward aspect it bears the date of 1610, it is clear from this entry and the paragraph here

Not content with giving this statement of their affairs, in the month of January or February 1609-10, they issued out a paper, which bears the title of

“ A PUBLICATION by the Counsell of Virginia,
touching the plantation there.

“ Howsoever it came to pass by God’s appointment that governes all things, that the fleet of eight shippes lately sent to Virginea, by meanes the Admirall, wherein were shipped the chief Governours, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captain Newport, by tempestuous windes and forcible current were driven so farre to the westward, that they could not in so convenient time recover Cape Henrie, and the port in Virginea, as by returne of the same fleete to answeere the expectation of the Adventurers, in some measure ;

“ By occasion whereof some few of those unruly youths sent thither, (beeing of most leaud and bad condition, and such as no ground can hold,) for want of good directions there were suffered by stealth to get aboard the shippes returning thence, and are come for England againe, giving out in all places where they come, (to colour their own misbehaviour and the cause of their returne with some pretence,) most vile and scandalous reports, both of the country it self, and of the cariage of the business there :

quoted, that it was published either in Dec. 1609, or before Jan. 31, 1609-10.

“ Which hath also given occasion that sundry false rumours, and despightful speeches, have beene devised and given out by men that seeme of better sort, being such as lie at home, and doe gladly take all occasions to cheere them selves with the prevention of happy success in any action of publicke good, disgracing both the action and actors of such honourable enterprises, as whereof they neither know nor understand the true intents and honest ends ;

“ Which howsoever for a time it may deterre and keepe backe the hands and helpe of many well-disposed men, yet men of wisdom and better resolution doe well conceive and know that these devices infused into the tongues and heades of such devisors, by the father of untruths, doe serve for nothing else but as a cloke to cover the wretched and leaud prancks of the one sort, and the stupidity and backwardness of the other, to advance any commendable action that taxeth their purse, and tendeth not wholly to their own advantage.

“ And therefore those of his Majesties Counsell in this honourable plantation, the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, interested therein, rightly considering that as in all other good services, so in this, much losse and detriment may many waies arise and grow to the due meanes and manner of proceeding, which yet no way toucheth nor empeacheth the action it self, nor the ends of it, which do still remaine entire and safe upon the same grounds of those manifold christian du-

ties, whereon it was first resolved, are so farre from yielding or giving way to any hindrance or impeachment of their cheerfull going on, that many of them, both honourable and worshipfull, have given their hands and subscribed to contribute againe and againe to new supplies, if need require.

“ And further they doe instantly prepare and make ready a certain number of good shippes with all necessaries, for the Right Honourable Lord De la Ware, who intendeth, (God assisting) to be ready with all expedition to second the aforesaid Generals, WHICH WE DOUBT NOT ARE LONG SINCE SAFELY ARRIVED AT THEIR WISHED PORT IN VIRGINIA.

“ And for that former experience hath too dearely taught, how much and manie waies it hurteth, to suffer parents to disbourden them selves of lascivious sonnes, masters of bad servants, and wives of ill husbands, and soe to clogge the businesse with such an idle crue as did thrust them selves in the last voiage, that will rather starve for hunger, then lay their hands to any labour :

“ It is therefore resolved, that no such unnecessary person shall now be accepted, but onely such sufficient, honest, and good artificers, as

Smiths,	Turners,
Shipwrights,	Coopers,
Sturgeon-dressers,	Saltmakers,
Joyners,	Ironmen, for furnasse
Carpenters,	and hammer,
Gardeners,	Brickmakers,

Bricklayers,	Brewers,
Mineral men,	Sawyers,
Bakers,	Fowlers,
Gun-founders,	Vine-dressers.
Fishermen,	Surgeons,
Plough-wrights,	and

Physicians for the body, and learned Divines to instruct the Colony, and to teach the infidels to worship the true God : of which so many as will repaire to the house of Sir Thomas Smith, Treasurer of the Company, to proffer their service in this action, before the number be full, and will put in good suretie to be readie to attend the said Honourable Lord in the voyage, shall be entertained with those reasonable and good conditions, as shall answer and be agreeable to each man's sufficiency in his several profession.* ”

In April or May, 1610, Lord De la Ware, with three ships, sailed for Virginia, and arrived at James-Town on the 9th of June. Here first he learned, that Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were not lost, as had been supposed in England, the two knights having arrived at Virginia about a fortnight before him, in two cedar vessels that they had built at Bermuda, from which they sailed on the 10th of May, after having spent about nine months on that island. Shortly afterwards,

* Imprinted, at London, by Thomas Hareland, for William Welby, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard, at the signe of the Swanne, 1610 [probably Jan. 1609-10,] a half-sheet.

(June 19, 1610 *,) the new Governour sent Sir George Somers for a fresh supply of victuals to Bermuda, where he died, Nov. 9, 1610, as appears by an inquisition taken at Dorchester on the 26th of July, 1611 †.

During a great part of the year 1610, the fate of Somers and Gates was not known in England ; but the latter, having been sent home by Lord Delaware, arrived there in August or September, 1610 ; and before the end of that year, in order to quiet the minds of those who were concerned in this adventure, and to assure the publick of the safety of Sir George Somers, and those who had accompanied him in the SEA-ADVENTURE, the Council of Virginia published a Narrative of the disasters which had befallen the fleet that had been sent out in 1609, from materials furnished by Sir Thomas Gates.

Previously however to its appearance, one Jourdan, who probably returned from Virginia in the

* Mr. Strachey's letter, dated James-Town, July 7, 1610. MSS. Harl. 7009. art. 12. fol. 35.

† Escaet. 10 Jac. p. 2. n. 127.

He died of too great fatigue and a surfeit of pork, which Bermuda so abundantly supplied. See the Proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia, by W. S. 1612, p. 106; and Howe's continuation of Stowe's Chronicle. His body was brought to England in his own cedar vessel, and landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and he was buried in the church or cemetery of Whitchurch Canonicorum, on the 4th of June, 1611 ; as appears by an entry in the Register of that parish, which the Rev. Mr. Tucker, in the year 1802, obligingly examined, at my request.

same ship with that gentleman, pursuing a course which we have seen practised in our own time, and availing himself of the publick curiosity, anticipated the authentick account by hastily drawing up a narrative of this disastrous voyage, which appears to have been issued out very expeditiously; for his Dedication, which is addressed "to Master John Fitzjames, Esquire, Justice of Peace in Dorsetshire," is dated on the 13th of October, 1610; but from an apprehension, doubtless, that his publication might have been forbidden by authority, if any previous notice of it had been given, this pamphlet was published without a license, not being entered in the Stationers' Register. It is entitled, "A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called THE ISLE OF DIVELS; by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, with divers others *." Though the substance of this narrative has already been given in Mr. Stith's detail of the disaster produced by the storm of July, 1609, it is necessary to repeat some part of it, because here and in the subsequent tract published by authority, it was, that Shakspeare found those materials of which he has availed himself in the comedy now under our consideration.

Jourdan, after informing his reader that he was one of those who sailed from England with Sir George Somers and Sir Thomas Gates, in the Sea-adventure †, proceeds to relate the circum-

* By Sil. Jourdan, 4to. 1610.

† "A vessel of about 300 ton," say Howes, in his Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle, 1615.

stances of the storm which happened on the 25th of July, 1609. They were bound for Virginia, and at that time in thirty degrees, north latitude. The whole crew, amounting to one hundred and fifty persons, weary with pumping, had given all for lost, and began to drink their strong waters, AND TO TAKE LEAVE OF EACH OTHER, intending to commit themselves to the mercy of the sea. Sir George Somers, who had sat three days and nights on the poop, with no food and little rest, at length descried land, and encouraged them (MANY FROM WEARINESS HAVING FALLEN ASLEEP) to continue at the pumps. They complied; and fortunately the ship was driven and JAMMED BETWEEN TWO ROCKS, "fast lodged and locked for further budging." One hundred and fifty persons got ashore; and by means of their boat and skiff, for this was "half a mile from land," they saved such part of their goods and provisions as the water had not spoiled, all the tackling and much of the iron of their ship, which was of great service to them in fitting out another vessel to carry them to Virginia.

"But our delivery," says Jourdan, "was not more strange in falling so opportunely and happily upon the land, as [than] our feeding and provision was, beyond our hopes, and all men's expectations, most admirable; for the Islands of the Bermudas, as every man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were NEVER INHABITED by any christian or heathen people, but ever esteemed and reputed a most prodigious and INCHANTED PLACE, affording nothing but gusts, storms, and foul weather; which

made every navigator and mariner to avoid them as Scylla and Charybdis, or as they would shunne the Divell himself: and no man was ever heard to make for this place, but as, against their wils, they have, by storms and dangerousnesse of the rocks lying seven leagues into the sea, suffered shipwracke. Yet did we finde there THE AYRE SO TEMPERATE and the COUNTRY SO ABOUNDANTLY FRUITFULL of all fit necessities for the sustentation and preservation of man's life, that, most in a manner of all our provision of bread, beere, and victuall, being quite spoyled in lying long drowned in salt water, notwithstanding we were there for the space of nine months (few days over or under) we were not only well refreshed, comforted, and with good satiety contented, but out of the abundance thereof provided us some reasonable quantity and proportion of provision to carry us for Virginia, and to maintain our selves and that company we found there:—wherefore my opinion sincerely of this island is, that whereas it hath beene, and is still accounted the most dangerous, unfortunate, and forlorne place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land, (the quantity and bignesse thereof considered,) and meerely naturall, as ever man set foote upon."

On the 28th of July they landed. They all then began to search for provision. In half an hour Sir Thomas Gates took as many fishes with hookes, as sufficed the whole company for one day. When a man stept into the water, the fish came round about him. "These fishes were very fat and

sweete, and of that proportion and bignesse, that three of them will conveniently lade two men: those we called ROCK-FISH. Besides, there are such aboundance of mullets, that with a seane might be taken at one draft one thousand at the least; and infinite store of pilchards." There was also a great plenty of cray-fish. The country afforded such an abundance of hogs, that Sir George Somers, who hunted them, brought in thirty-two at one time.

"There is fowle in great aboundance in the islands, where they breed, that there hath beene taken in two or three howres a thousand at the least, being of the bignesse of a good pigeon.

"Another sea-fowle there is, that lyeth in little holes in the ground, like unto a coney-hole, and are in great numbers; exceeding good meat, very fat and sweet, (those we had in the winter,) and their egges are white, and of that bignesse, that they are not to be knowne from hen-egges."

The birds he describes as exceedingly tame: they came so near them, that they killed many of them with a stick. They found great store of tortoises or turtles; prickled pears in abundance, which continued green on the trees all the year. The island, he adds, was supplied with many mulberry trees, white and red, palmits and cedar trees; and no venomous creature was found there.

Having built their new cedar bark *, they set sail

* Such is Jourdan's account; but it appears from other relations, that they built *two* cedar vessels at Bermuda. In that

from the Bermudas, May 10, 1610, (leaving, as appears by other accounts, three men behind,) and landed on the coast of Virginia, May 24, when they found sixty persons only living and in distress. On this account they determined to return to England; and accordingly embarked, June 8, 1610, at James-Town for Newfoundland, to get provisions for their voyage; when fortunately, having got half way down the river, they met Lord De la Ware, who arrived from England with three ships. After a while, Lord De la Ware sent Sir George Somers, "a man of sixty years of age," to Bermuda, for provisions. He embarked at James-Town in the small cedar bark of thirty tons, which he had built at Bermuda, June 19, 1610; and the writer concludes with a hearty wish for his good success and safe return.

To dissipate the gloom and despondency occasioned by the disaster of the former year, and to shew the practicability and probable advantages of settling a colony in Virginia, were the principal objects of the pamphlet published under the authority of the Council in the latter end of 1610; which is written with a vigour, animation, and elegance rarely found in the tracts of those times. Though that part of it with which alone we are concerned, or in other words, which relates to Bermuda, differs but little in substance from the account that pre-

built by Somers (and probably in the other also) no iron was employed, except one bolt in her keel.

ceded it, relating nearly the same facts and events in much better language, it is yet necessary to be briefly noticed; because Shakspeare assuredly would not neglect to peruse this authentick narrative *. It has indeed an additional claim to our attention; for the writer of this tract, having compared the disastrous tempest which wrecked Sir George Somers and his associates on the island of Bermuda, and their subsequent escape from the immediate destruction which threatened them, to those dramatick compositions in which similar changes of fortune are represented, and sorrow and mirth artfully intermingled, perhaps suggested to Shakspeare the thought of forming these adventures into a play; and to him, in some measure, we may have been indebted for this delightful comedy.

“ True it is,” (says this Narrative,) “ that when Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and Cap-

* “ A true Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia, with a confutation of such scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise. Published by advice and direction of the Councell of Virginia.” 4to. 1610.

In “ The New Life of Virginia,” 4to. 1612, this tract is ascribed to Sir Thomas Gates. Mr. Strachey, in a pamphlet already mentioned (see the note in p. 390, article 13,) speaks of it as the relation of him and those associated with him in command. In a subsequent page, I have called it Gates’s narrative, as unquestionably a great part of the materials was furnished by him (the circumstance doubtless which induced the writer of “ The New Life of Virginia ” to be ascribed to him;) but I suspect that it was written by Sir Edwin Sandys, the well known author of *EUROPÆ SPECULUM*, and a zealous promoter of the settlement in Virginia. In 1619 he was Treasurer of the Virginia Company.

taine Newport, were in the height of 27, and the 24th of July, 1609, there arose such a storme, as if Jonas had been flying unto Tarshish : the heavens were obscured, and made an Egyptian night of three daies perpetuall horror ; the women lamented ; the hearts of the passengers failed ; the experience of the sea-captaines was amased ; the skill of the marriners was confounded ; the ship most violently leaked ; and though two thousand tunne of water by pumping from Tuesday noone till Fryday noone was discharged, notwithstanding, the ship was halfe filled with water : and those which laboured to keepe others from drowning, were halfe drowned themselves in labouring. But GOD, that heard Jonas crying out of the belly of hell, he pittied the distresses of his servants ; for behold, in the last period of necessitie, Sir George Summers descryed land, which was by so much the more joyfull, by how much their danger was despairefull. The islands on which they fell, were the Bermudos ; a place hardly ACCESSABLE, through the invironing rocks and dangers : notwithstanding, they were forced to runne their ship on shoare, which through GOD's providence fell betwixt two rockes, that caused her to stand firme, and not immediately to be broken ; GOD continuing his mercie unto them, that with their long boats they transported to land before night all their company, men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and fiftie ; they carryed to shoare all the provision of unspent and unspoyled victuals, all their furniture and tack-

ling of the ship, leaving nothing but bared ribs as a pray unto the ocean.

“ These islands of the Bermudos have ever been accounted as an INCHAUNTED pile of rockes, and A DESERT INHABITATION FOR DIVELS ; but all the fairies of the rocks were but flocks of birds, and all the divels that haunted the woods were but heards of swine. Yea, and when Acosta, in his first booke of the hystories of the Indies, averreth, that though in the Continent there were diverse beasts and cattell, yet in the islands of Hispaniola, Jamaica, Marguarita, and Dominica, there was not one hoofe, it increaseth the wonder how our people in the Bermudos found such abundance of hogs, that for nine moneths’ space they plentifully sufficed ; and yet the number seemed not much diminished.—Again ; as in the great famine of Israell GOD commanded Elias to flie to the brooke Cedron, and there fed him by ravens, so GOD provided for our disconsolate people in the midst of the sea by foules ; but with an admirable difference: unto Elias the ravens brought meat, unto our men the foules brought themselves for meate ; for when they whistled or made any strange noyse, the foules would come and sit on their shoulders ; they would suffer themselves to be taken and weighed by our men, who would make choise of the fattest and fairest, and let flie the leane and lightest : an accident I take it, that cannot be parallel’d by any hystorie, except when GOD sent abundance of quayles to feed his Israel in the barren wilderness. Lastly, they found

the berries of cedar, the palmeto tree, the prickly pear, sufficient fish, plenty of tortoises, and divers other kinds which sufficed to sustain nature. They found diversity of woods, which ministered materials for the building of two pinaces, according to the direction of the three provident Governours.

“ Consider all these things together. At the instant of neede they descryed land ; halfe an hower more had buried their memorial in the sea. If they had fel by night, what expectation of light from an uninhabited desert ? They fell betwixt a laberinth of rockes, which they conceive are mouldred into the sea by thunder and lightning. This was not Ariadne’s threed, but the direct line of GOD’s providence. If it had not beene SO NEERE LAND, their companie or provision had perished by water ; if they had not found hogs, and foule, and fish, they had perished by famine : if there had not beene fuell, they had perished by want of fire : if there had not beene timber, they could not have transported them selves to Virginia, but must have beene forgotten for ever. *Nimium timet, qui DEO non credit* ; he is too impiously fearefull, that will not trust in GOD so powerfull.

“ What is there in all this TRAGICALL-COMÆDIE, that should discourage us with impossibilitie of the enterprise ? when of all the fleete, one onely ship by a secret leake was indangered, and yet in the gulfe of despaire was so graciously preserved. *Quæ videtur pæna, est medicina* ; that which we accompt

a punishment of evill, is but a medecine against evill *."

From the preceding statements it appears, that during a great part of the year 1610, it was supposed in England, that the ship containing the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlement in Virginia, and Sir George Somers the Admiral, which had been separated from the rest of the fleet, was lost; but Shakspeare, when he wrote his play, KNEW THAT IT WAS SAFE; a circumstance ascertained by Jourdan's pamphlet, and that issued out by the Council; and therefore this comedy could not have been written till after their publication, or at least the publication of one of them: unless we suppose that our poet had the very earliest intelligence of the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates in August or September in that year: and even on that supposition the play must have been composed subsequently to that period. However that may have been it is reasonable to suppose that it was not produced on the stage till the winter or spring of 1611, and we may safely ascribe it to the early part of that year. That it was performed before the middle of 1611, we have already seen †.

* "A true Declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia, &c. *ut supra*, 4to. 1610. This pamphlet was entered in the Stationers' Register by William Barret, Nov. 8, 1610; being licensed by Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir George Capon, Mr. Ric. Martyn, and the Wardens.

† See the Essay on the Chronological Order of Shakspeare's Plays, vol. i.

It now remains to shew that Shakspeare, when he wrote *THE TEMPEST*, had in view the particular disaster of which so ample an account has been given. To fix as nearly as possible the exact time of his writing it, I have said that he knew that the Admiral-ship was safe ; and this appears by the following lines, which manifestly allude to that circumstance and several others attending the tempest that dispersed Somers's fleet, and finally wrecked the vessel he was in, in one of the Bermuda islands.

" PROSPERO. Hast thou, spirit,

" Perform'd to point the tempest that I bade thee ?

" ARIEL. To every article.

" I boarded the KING'S SHIP ; now on the beak,

" Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,

" I flamed amazement.—

" PRO. Why, that's my spirit.

" But was not this NIGH SHORE ?

" ARI. CLOSE BY, my master.

" PRO. But ARE THEY, Ariel, SAFE ?

" ARI. NOT A HAIR PERISH'D ;

" On their sustaining garments not a blemish,

" But fresher than before ; and, as thou bad'st me,

" In troops I have dispers'd them 'bout the isle.—

* * * * *

" PRO. Of THE KING'S SHIP,

" The mariners, say, how thou hast dispos'd,

" And all the rest o' the fleet ?

" ARI. SAFELY IN HARBOUR

" IS THE KING'S SHIP ; in the DEEP NOOK - - - ,

" - - - - - THERE SHE'S HID ;

“ The mariners all under hatches stow’d ;
 “ Whom with a charm, *join’d to their suffer’d*
 labour,
 “ *I have left asleep : and for the rest o’ the fleet,*
 “ *Which I dispers’d, they all have met again,*
 “ *And are upon the Mediterranean flote*
 “ *Bound sadly home for Naples ;*
 “ SUPPOSING THAT THEY SAW THE KING’S SHIP
 WRECK’D,
 “ AND HIS GREAT PERSON PERISH.”

It is obvious, that we have here a covert allusion to several circumstances minutely described in the papers quoted in the preceding pages ; to the circumstance of the Admiral-ship being separated from the rest of Somers’s fleet, and after a tremendous tempest, being jammed between two of the Bermuda rocks, and “ fast lodged and lock’d ” as Jourdan expresses it, “ for further budging * ; ” to the disaster happening very near the shore, and not a single person having perished † ; to the mariners having fallen asleep from excessive fatigue ‡ ; to the dispersion of the other ships ; to the greater part of them meeting again, as the Council of the Virginia Company have it, “ in consort § ; ” and to all those who were thus dispersed and thus met again, being “ bound sadly ” for Virginia, supposing that the vessel which carried their Governour was lost, and that his “ great person had perished || . ” In various other passages in the second Act,—where the preservation of Alonzo and his companions is termed “ miraculous ; ” where Stephano asks,

* See p. 406. † pp. 406 and 412. ‡ p. 406. § p. 398. || p. 396.

“ have we DEVILS here ?”—where the same person makes a very free use of his bottle, and liberally imparts it to Caliban and Trinculo * ;—where it is said, “ though this island seem to be DESERT, UNINHABITABLE, and almost INACCESSIBLE, it must needs be of subtle, tender, and delicate TEMPERANCE † ;” that “ the AIR breathes most SWEETLY,” and that “ here is every thing ADVANTAGEOUS TO LIFE ;” we find evident allusions to the extraordinary escape of Somers and his associates, and to Jourdan’s and Gates’s descriptions of Bermuda ‡ ; as, in the first scene of the play, the circumstance of the sailors and passengers taking leave of each other, and bidding farewell to their wives and children, was manifestly suggested by the earlier of those narratives §.

* In the original, indeed, strong waters are drunk on shipboard by those who conceived that the ship was sinking ; in the play, Stephano’s liquor is sack, and it is drunk on the island after his escape. But Shakspeare, when he borrowed hints from others, often made such slight changes. Here, the change is easily accounted for : that pleasantry in which he delighted, could not with any propriety have been introduced among men, who supposed themselves at the point of death.

In like manner, in the original, the mariners fall asleep from excessive labour, and the hatches are shut down, *during the storm* ; but in the play, no mention is made of these circumstances in the first scene, where the ship is represented as sinking ; but after the storm has ceased, and Alonzo and several of his associates are safely landed, Ariel informs Prospero that the mariners are safely stowed.

† *Temperance*, as Mr. Steevens has observed, is here used for *temperature*.

‡ pp. 407, 412.

§ p. 406.

Having thus, I hope decisively, ascertained the date of this comedy, it is unnecessary to consider any other of the notes of time, which it may furnish. In this light the Masque, in the fourth Act, has been represented; having been supposed to refer to the consummation (in 1610) of the marriage of the young Earl of Essex with Lady Frances Howard*, to whom he had been betrothed in 1606: but, not to insist on their cohabitation having taken place in the year 1609, as appears from the depositions in the suit for a divorce instituted by the Countess some years afterwards, this masque may be more justly as well as more obviously accounted for, by the prevailing fashion of the period when I have shewn it was written; a fashion which gave birth to a similar exhibition in the play of *TIMON OF ATHENS*, produced not long before. Equally inconclusive is the circumstance of the exhibition of the dead Indian, alluded to in the second Act, which, as I have already observed, proves nothing precisely; for it might have taken place at any time between 1605 and 1611.

Dryden, probably on the authority of Sir William D'Avenant, tells us, that *THE TEMPEST* was a very popular and successful play; which may well be believed, when it is considered, that, in addition to its own intrinsick excellence, it had also the adventitious merit of temporary allusion and reference to

* *Observations on THE TEMPEST*, [by Mr. Holt] 8vo. 1749, p. 17. That writer, erroneously supposing this consummation to have taken place in 1610, seems here to ascribe this play to that year: afterwards (p. 67) he places it in 1614.

interesting circumstances, which had been the subject of discourse during an entire year preceding its representation; topicks so embellished by poesy, and so blended with fictions of the happiest kind, that a single disastrous event appears to have been converted by the magical hand of Shakspeare almost into a Fairy Tale.

APPENDIX.

AN unexpected circumstance induces me to add some observations to the preceding tract.—Early in the last year [1808] a few copies of it having been printed without any view of publication, they were distributed among my friends and acquaintance, accompanied with an entreaty, written in each copy, that no part of it should be communicated to the publick. Such was the import of my request, though not couched precisely in these words. Notwithstanding this request, it has been reviewed, on the first of January 1809, in one of the monthly publications; and a minute account has been given of all the proofs here adduced for the purpose of shewing the origin of the title and part of the story of Shakspeare's *TEMPEST*, and of ascertaining the time when it was written. On the propriety of this proceeding I shall not enlarge; more especially, as I have learned that the writer in question was induced to take this step, in consequence of verbal misinformation conveyed to him, I know not by whom, by which he considered himself released from the restriction which my written request was intended to impose. The author of the paper alluded to, however, having asserted, that the foregoing discovery, as he is pleased to call it, was

suggested many years ago by Mr. Capell ; and a principal object of this premature publication seeming to have been, to prevent my erroneously supposing that I have any claim to it, I take an early opportunity of examining whether his notion on this subject is founded in truth, or on an entire misapprehension of the import and object of what has been stated in the preceding pages.

And, to avoid all confusion and misunderstanding, I will first shew what this discovery is NOT, and then, what it is. The discovery which I pretend to have made, is NOT,—that Sir George Somers, having in 1609 been shipwrecked on one of the Bermuda islands, where he died,—and various accounts of those islands having been afterwards published, in which they are represented as having been formerly considered to be “enchanted, and inhabited by witches and devils, which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunder, storm, and tempest, near unto them,”—Shakspeare was hence induced, *some years afterwards*, in his comedy of THE TEMPEST, to characterise Bermoothes (or Bermudas) by the epithet—STILL-VEX'D ; and that in the formation of this play, the DELINEATION OF SYCORAX AND HER SORCERIES, THE CHARACTER OF CALIBAN, and THE MAGICK OF PROSPERO, were derived from the same fountain, that is, from the accounts of the Bermudas. This, I say, is NOT what I pretend to have discovered ; but

That the tremendous storm, which in July 1609, separated and dispersed the fleet of ships that then sailed for Virginia, under the command of Sir

George Somers and others, and finally wrecked his vessel on one of the Bermuda islands,—together with the peculiar incidents and circumstances attending that dispersion and shipwreck, gave rise to, and were the immediate origin of, the play of *THE TEMPEST*, and the title by which it was distinguished;—that to these incidents there is a covert reference in various passages of that comedy;—and that the fate of Somers not having been known in England for about fifteen months after he left it, that is, not till about September or October in the year 1610, during all which time it was feared and generally believed, that he was lost; and the poet, as appears from a passage in his play, having known that he had landed on one of the Bermuda islands in safety; it necessarily follows, that this comedy was written after the news of that event had reached England; and, as I know that it had “a being and a name” in the autumn of 1611, the date of the play is fixed and ascertained with uncommon precision, between the end of the year 1610, and the Autumn of 1611; and it may with great probability be ascribed to the Spring of the latter year.—This is what I undertook to prove, and this I presume to say, I have proved.

But, says the writer in question, all this may be true; but this is not Mr. Malone’s discovery but Mr. Capell’s, and by way of proving the truth of this assertion, the following passage from that gentleman’s *Notes on Shakspeare* has been adduced;—vol. ii. part ii. p. 58; 4to.

“ The idea of Ariël’s CHARACTER, of his performances at least, which are describ’d in what precedes this similitude, [“ the fever of the mad,”] was caught from Haklyit, as will be evident to a viewer of that extract which is first [second] of those which are made in THE SCHOOL [of Shakspeare] from that writer : and by another, enter’d too in that work, is that epithet’s fitness [“ STILL-VEX’D”] confirm’d, which at p. 14, 13, [i. e. p. 14. l. 13, of Mr. Capell’s edition of Shakspeare’s plays] characterizes the islands, there intitl’d Bermoothes, in the extract—Bermudas.”

[Dr. Johnson once said, speaking of Mr. Capell’s Preface to his edition, “ If the man would have come to me, I would have endeavoured to ‘ endow his purpose with words ;’ for as it is, ‘ he doth gabble monstrously.’ With the same charitable view it may be observed, that the first of the extracts here *referred-to*, which is taken from the third volume of Hakluyt’s Voyages, contains merely a description of the light, that, in storms, sometimes runs “ upon the top of the maine-yarde and maine-maste,” and is denominated, according to that writer, *cuerpo santo*. The second extract referred-to, is, a passage in a play of Thomas Middleton’s entitled ANY THING FOR A QUIET LIFE, in which the Bermuda islands are said to have been formerly infested with “ thunder, with frightful lightning, and amazing noises :” “ but *now*, (adds the speaker,) the enchantment broke, ’tis the land of peace, where hogs and tobacco yield fair increase.” This comedy was

not printed till 1662; but appears from internal evidence, to have been written about the year 1619, three years after Shakspeare's death!]

“ But though (proceeds Mr. Capell) we have in
 “ honesty given this extract, [that quoted from
 “ Middleton's play,] and said of it as above, 'tis not
 “ from an opinion that the compound referr'd-to
 “ [“still-vex'd”] sprang from thence; which should
 “ rather have been the offspring of some fuller and
 “ LATER relations, by print or otherwise, WHICH
 “ SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN GATHERED EARLIER THAN
 “ 1612,—PERHAPS LATER. These are the reasons :
 “ In 1609, Sir George Sommers, (of whom the is-
 “ lands were also called Sommer islands, the first
 “ Englishman certainly, and for aught appears, the
 “ first European, who set his foot on them, was cast
 “ upon them by shipwreck; stay'd a year on them;
 “ return'd to them again from Virginia, and then
 “ dy'd on them. That colony calls them within its
 “ limits; and the then majority of it sold them to
 “ some particulars, members of their society; who
 “ in April 1612, ‘ sent thither a ship with sixty per-
 “ sons, who arrived, and remayn'd there very safely.’
 “ The furnisher of these particulars and of the ex-
 “ tract that follows them, speaking of the islands
 “ themselves, says further, ‘ they were *of all na-*
 “ *tions said and supposed to be enchanted and in-*
 “ *habited with twitches and devils*, which grew by
 “ reason of accustomed monstrous thunder, storme
 “ and tempest, neere unto them.’ Now as these
 “ particulars must, from the nature of them, have
 “ been the subject as well of writings as talk, at

“ at the time they were passing, the presumption
 “ is, FIRST, that the afore-mention’d epithet [“ still-
 “ vex’d”] rose from them; and NEXT, that *they*
 “ were also SUGGESTERS OF SYCORAX AND HER SOR-
 “ CRIES, OF THE PRETERNATURAL BEING SUBJECTED
 “ TO HER, AND OF PROSPERO’S MAGICK; which, if
 “ it be allow’d, then is this play prov’d by it a late
 “ composition; and weight added to the opinion
 “ that makes it the Poet’s last; a circumstance that
 “ might determine the Players to place it foremost
 “ in their publish’d collection.—Stratford, his place
 “ of birth and of residence, was burnt in 1614,
 “ which should in reason have drawn him thither,
 “ and in 16 he dy’d. The extracts, and what re-
 “ lates to these islands, we have from Howe’s Con-
 “ tinuation of Stowe; (edition 1631, fol. bl. l.) their
 “ name in him is Bermodes and Bermodies, which,
 “ as well as Bermoothes, (the poet’s spelling,) are
 “ defective attempts to give in English the Spanish
 “ sound of Bermudas.”

This is the whole that Mr. Capell has said upon this subject; and between this statement and mine the writer in question, on repeated and mature consideration, sees so little difference, that in his apprehension, the passage just now quoted fully warrants his conclusion; namely, that the discovery which I pretend to have made, was previously made by Mr. Capell.

The matter here in controversy lies in so narrow a compass, that it admits of little illustration or amplification: where no arguments have been adduced in support of an opinion, there is nothing to

be confuted. In some questions of a complex and difficult nature, when many specious observations are urged by ingenious men, in support of contrary tenets, an attentive consideration and sound judgment are requisite, to separate truth from falsehood, and to form a just decision ;—but here are no opposing probabilities to be balanced, and no reasoning to be sifted and examined : on the one side, we have a series of connected proofs, all leading to the same conclusion ; on the other a mere assertion with scarcely one colourable suggestion to support it.

In the passage relied upon as furnishing a decisive proof of what has been asserted, Sir George Somers, and the misfortune that befel him, as has been already observed, are indeed mentioned ; but the notice of this gentleman, and of his shipwreck, is merely historical and incidental. The writer was naturally led to mention that circumstance, in order to attain the object that he had in view ; which was only to shew that the opinions vulgarly entertained concerning the Bermuda islands gave rise to the *magick* of *THE TEMPEST*. Mr. Capell's language is in general so quaint, perverse, cloudy, and almost unintelligible, that two men of the quickest apprehension, and soundest judgment, might often find it extremely difficult to ascertain his meaning ; and might perhaps, in many cases ascribe to the same passage interpretations of a totally opposite and contrary import : but here, in spite of all the awkwardness of his language, it is demonstrable, that the notice of Sir George So-

mers is merely incidental, and introduced solely as “ a greese or step ” to the Bermuda Islands, and to the opinions which prevailed concerning them ; and he is extremely particular in the conclusion that he meant to have drawn from this statement ; which is not, that the storm of 1609, that wrecked Somers there, gave rise to the play ; but that the supposed enchantments belonging to those islands on which he was wrecked, gave rise, SOME YEARS AFTERWARDS, in the *first place*, to the epithet applied to them by the poet ; and *secondly*, produced the character of Caliban, the delineation of Sycorax and her Sorceries, and the magick of Prospero. This, and this only, it is manifest, is the conclusion which he meant to draw ; and for this purpose only was Sir George Somers, or his shipwreck at Bermuda, mentioned.

With respect to the notions entertained by the vulgar that the Bermudas were enchanted islands, and to the circumstances which made it probable that Shakspeare had those notions in view when he wrote this comedy ; and that the beings with which he has peopled his enchanted island, and the magick of Prospero, were in some measure derived from thence ; all this was known to Dr. Farmer, Bishop Percy, Mr. Steevens, and others ; (though not one of them could ascertain at what precise period Shakspeare attained the knowledge requisite for the formation of this drama :) and each of those gentlemen may be said to have anticipated the present writer in his discovery, with as much propriety as Mr. Capell.

The remark indeed of a much elder editor, Mr. Theobald, is so material on this part of our present disquisition, that I shall here transcribe it. It is observable, that his Note is on the very same words ("the *still-ver'd* Bermoothes,") which gave rise to the remark of Mr. Capell, inserted above :

"So this word [Bermoothes] has hitherto been
 "mistakenly written in all the books. There are
 "about 400 islands in North America, the principal
 "of which was called Bermuda, from a Spaniard
 "of that name, who first discovered them. They
 "are likewise called Summer Islands, from SIR
 "GEORGE SUMMERS, WHO IN 1609, MADE THAT
 "VOYAGE; and viewing them, probably first brought
 "the English acquainted with them, and invited
 "them afterwards to settle a plantation there.—
 "But why '*still-ver'd* Bermudas?' The soil is
 "celebrated for its beauty and fruitfulness, and the
 "air is so very temperate and serene, that people
 "live there to a great age, and are seldom troubled
 "with sickness. But then, on the other hand,
 "these islands are so surrounded with rocks on all
 "sides, that without a perfect knowledge of the
 "passage a small vessel cannot be brought to ha-
 "ven. Again, we are told, that they are subject
 "to violent storms, sometimes with terrible clat-
 "tering of thunder, and dismal flashing of light-
 "ning.—And besides, SIR GEORGE SUMMERS, WHEN
 "HE MADE THE DISCOVERY, was actually SHIP-
 "WRECK'D on the coast. This, I take it, might be
 "a sufficient foundation for our author's using the
 "epithet *still-ver'd*."

Here we see, that Mr. Theobald knew, as well as Mr. Capell, of the shipwreck of Somers, if that be any thing to the purpose. It is now above seventy years since this remark was made ; and I ask, whether in that period any man, any woman, or any child, ever supposed that Theobald was acquainted with the origin of *THE TEMPEST*; or thought that the import of the foregoing passage was, that this comedy immediately took its rise from the shipwreck of Somers at Bermuda? And I say further, that he who should maintain that Theobald was acquainted with the peculiar circumstances which produced this play, might do so with much more probability than he who should ascribe that knowledge to Mr. Capell; for though Theobald knew nothing of the matter, he has here said nothing by which his ignorance of its true origin can be decisively proved: while on the other hand, Capell was so little aware of any immediate connection or relation between the storm that shipwrecked Somers and the play, and so far was he from supposing that this circumstance was its immediate origin, that he has almost expressly declared his ignorance on the subject; carefully separating the drama from the event that gave birth to it, and assuming that *SOME YEARS* must have elapsed between that event and the construction of the play; during which time, according to his theory, the notions concerning the enchantment ascribed to these islands became well known, and *at last* in the year 1612 or 1613 reached the ear of Shakspeare.

If, however, it should be objected that Mr Theobald has no pretensions to this discovery, because it does not appear from his note that he had any knowledge of the magical character of the Bermudas, then I say, that Dr. Farmer, Mr. Steevens, and Bishop Percy, who had Theobald's note before them, and who knew from thence (if from no other quarter) of the shipwreck of Somers, and whose own notes shew that they were perfectly apprized of the magical character of the Bermudas, have as good a title to this discovery as Mr. Capell: yet I am confident, if one thousand competent judges were asked, whether they believed that the three gentlemen above-named had the slightest knowledge, or even suspicion, of the true and immediate origin of this play as stated in the preceding tract, that without one dissentient voice, they would instantly answer in the negative.

Though Mr. Capell's words decisively shew the futility of the conclusion founded upon them, some other circumstances ought not to be omitted, in the consideration of this question, if indeed it can be made a question for a moment. It should therefore be remembered, that Mr. Capell wrote and published an express account of what he conceived to be the origin of all Shakspeare's plays; and that in that account in speaking of *THE TEMPEST*, he has not introduced the slightest notice of the storm which dispersed Sir George Somers's fleet, or of his shipwreck;—that if he had known any of the incidents attending that dispersion and wreck, which are alluded to in this comedy, he would un-

questionably have stated them, and the respective passages with which they correspond;—that not having done so, it is clear, he knew nothing of them; and therefore never could have thought or supposed that the misadventure of Somers and his companions was the immediate origin of this beautiful comedy.

That Mr. Steevens and the other gentlemen whom I have mentioned, were acquainted with the disaster of Somers, cannot be doubted; because they all had occasion, from what is said in this comedy concerning the Bermudas, to consider when, and by whom, those islands were discovered, and what opinions were entertained respecting them. But it is manifest, that neither they nor Mr. Capell had the slightest suspicion that the storm which dispersed Somers's fleet, and wrecked his vessel on these islands, gave rise to the play; nor did any one of them know when the accounts of that disaster first arrived in England, or at what precise period the history of these events became generally known, by means of the various pamphlets published concerning them. I have a right to assume that they were ignorant of these circumstances, because, if they had been apprized of them, unquestionably they would not have concealed their knowledge.—With respect to myself, I certainly had no notion of the true origin of this comedy, till in the year 1800 or 1801 I read Jourdan's narrative of the disaster that befel his Admiral: when the passage in *THE TEMPEST*, in which an account is given of the dispersion of Alonzo's fleet,

and that the king's ship was, by those who escaped the peril of the storm, supposed to be lost, as well as the peculiar manner in which that ship is said to have been preserved, struck me so forcibly, that I thought Shakspeare must have had the incidents attending Somers's voyage, immediately in view, when he wrote his comedy. Our poet himself, as I have already observed, drew us all away from the true scent, by placing the scene of his play at a distance from the island where the ship of Somers was wrecked; and no printed account of his disaster, or concerning the Bermudas, having been met with, prior to the year 1612, an opinion generally prevailed, that the play was produced at a later period. This circumstance was still in contemplation, and drew away every investigator of the subject from its real and immediate source; nor could its origin and true date have been easily discovered and ascertained, without the aid of those pamphlets, and other papers, of which I have availed myself on this occasion, particularly the two tracts published in the latter end of the year 1610. With what difficulty and trouble the various pieces perused and compared for this purpose were procured, their respective dates, precisely ascertained by the aid of the entries in the Stationers' Registers, and the correspondence established between the extraordinary circumstances of Sir George Somers's disaster, and the various passages of this comedy in which they are covertly alluded to, will not readily be conceived by those who have not been engaged in similar researches. They who have had occa-

sion to trace and to collect all the minute particulars of an event that happened two centuries ago, well know the tedious difficulties and frequent disappointments attending on such dark and remote enquiries.

E. M.

Foley-Place,
Jan. 21, 1809.

END OF VOL. XV.





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